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London County Council Election, 1904.

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

FOR CONSERVATIVE SPEAKERS AND CANDIDATES.

“WITH ALL OUR POLITICAL FORCES.”

“We must not be shy of using all our political power and machinery for the purpose of importing sound principles into the government of London. It is now as much our duty to do so as it is in respect of the Parliamentary elections. . . . It is as much our duty in all these elections, from the highest to the lowest, to act as a party, and to vote so that our principles shall prevail, as in the election of members to Parliament.”—The late MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, *at Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on November 7th, 1894.*

“I am in favour—I have always been in favour—of the introduction of politics into municipal elections, but I am not in favour of the introduction of politics into the Council. That is a different thing altogether. Councillors may be elected on political lines if you like, because they mark out broad distinctions of character and policy, but when elected, let both parties forget altogether political considerations and settle down to common work for the common benefit.”—RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.

“What are these but political questions—purposes as essentially political, and involving changes as great, as those which are discussed in Parliament for the whole country.”—SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, G.C.B., M.P., on Progressive policy in London Municipal affairs, *St. James's Hall, January 13th, 1902.*



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NOTE.

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The object of the Joint Committee in issuing this Handbook is to afford to Conservative speakers and candidates information upon the main points at issue in London County Council administration.

L. C. C. ELECTION, 1904.

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
1. Education :—	
PART I.—The London Education Act	1
PART II.—Progressive Hostility at L. C. C.	23
PART III.—The Peril of London's Education	30
APPENDIX.—Miscellaneous Notes on Education	37
2. Foreign Contracts	58
3. Main Drainage—Floodings	76
4. Housing of the Working Classes	87
5. Locomotion	104
6. Street Improvements	130
7. The Works Department	140
8. Finance :—	
PART I.—L. C. C. Finance	156
PART II.—Lord Welby's Speech	173
9. Taxation	184
10. Powers and Duties of Central and Local Authorities	207
11. Port of London—Increased Dock and River Services	213
12. Conservative and Unionist Legislation affecting London	222
13. Alien Immigration	239
14. Municipal Trading	245
15. Vauxhall Bridge	248
16. Conservatives and the non-contentious Work of the Council	253
17. Index	267



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EDUCATION.

PART I.

The Education (London) Act, 1903, gives to the Metropolis the advantages conferred upon the remainder of England and Wales by the Act of 1902, and now, for the first time, London possesses a single central authority capable, and charged with the duty, of supervising, directing and co-ordinating education of whatever class, and with whatever aim, from the kindergarten to the college.

Further, the Act, while laying upon the central authority this duty of maintaining the instruction in the not provided (Voluntary) schools, confers large powers of control over the instruction given in those schools.

Teachers in these schools will hereafter be able to obtain full recognition in salary and status for the services which they give, and in the past have given, with such unselfish devotion to the welfare and interests of the children.

By this grouping of schools in each Metropolitan city and borough, and by the appointment of managers, not only by the central authority but also by local councils, the administrative work of education will become linked with municipal life; and the administration of the schools, and the progress and success of scholars throughout the various stages of their educational career, will become an ever-increasing subject of local interest and importance.

No change
in the
character
of the
instruc-
tion.

To prevent any possible misunderstanding, it may be stated that the Acts make no alteration in the character of the instruction, secular or religious, in any of the schools.

Safe-
guards
retained
and
increased.

All the old safeguards against religious teaching contrary to the wishes of the parents are retained, and, in fact, one is added by which power is given to managers of non-provided schools to insure that the religious teaching in those schools does not go beyond the terms of the trust deed relating thereto.

No new
test for
teachers.

In spite of much misrepresentation, it will be found that the Acts do *not* subject teachers to any tests. Teachers now under the London Board will be, in future, in precisely the same position as in the past; and Section 7 of the Act of 1902 confers rights on assistant and pupil teachers applying for posts in not provided schools which they have not hitherto possessed.

Women's
work con-
tinued.

The value of women's work for elementary education is recognised by the Acts, which *require* the inclusion of women upon the Central Education Committee. Also in the Metropolitan Act there is a direction that not less than one-third of the local managers shall be women.

These provisions insure the continuance of the existing practice in London, but at the same time go further, inasmuch as they amount to a statutory guaranty that the excellent influence of women in school life shall be preserved.

Training
Colleges.

For the first time a public authority is enabled by the Act to establish and direct training colleges of an undenominational character.

Without disrespect to the voluntary work that has been done in this direction, it may be safely said that the want of adequate facilities for training teachers has been one of the greatest blots on our educational system.

It is the practice of those who opposed the passage of the two Acts through Parliament to assert that they increase the power of the clergy over education, and constitute a further endowment to Voluntary schools. Denomina-
tional
influence
not
increased.

Few statements are less founded upon fact. Indeed, the management of denominational schools by the clergy and ministers will, in future, be tempered by the presence of the managers nominated by public authorities, whose representations naturally will carry the weight of public opinion on controversial questions.

That the new Act constitutes an efficient, and at the same time economical method of maintaining the education of the 200,000 children now in London Voluntary schools, is patent from a consideration of the capital outlay necessary to provide new places (at, say, £30 per place) for all these children. In London, at least, it cannot be said that the owners of Voluntary schools are not paying an equivalent for the advantage which they gain in being able to insure denominational instruction in schools receiving rate-aid. Denomina-
tional
contribu-
tion
ample.

The essentials of the Government policy may be summarised as follows:— Govern-
ment
policy.

- (1) Central control and local administration.
- (2) Indirect in the place of direct or *ad hoc* election.

- (3) Similar educational advantages for all children, whether in provided or non-provided schools.
- (4) The co-ordination of all grades of instruction.

For the purpose of carrying into effect this policy, the Act provides for the appointment of a central committee, and for the establishment in each Borough area of Boards of Managers for the administration of details in connection with both the provided and non-provided schools, now known as Board and Voluntary schools.

Upon the Central Committee the County Council have power to appoint a majority, and, unless they otherwise decide, such majority will consist of members of their own body.

In the interest of the other work of the Council it appears advisable that as far as possible opportunity should be taken to bring in from without those previously conversant with the different forms and aims of educational work affected by the Act.

Borough Councils, after consultation with the County Council, and subject to the *approval of* the Board of Education, will decide how many Boards of Managers will be required for the provided elementary schools within their areas, and the number of Managers. And they have also the right to nominate two-thirds of the number of the Managers on each Board, also a representative upon the Board of Management of non-provided schools. Upon the loyalty with which members of both the County and Borough Councils carry out the Act, depends the future of London education.

In their first selection the Act directs that Borough and County Councils shall choose largely from those men and

women who, as Managers under the School Board, have gained much experience, and who, in very many instances, have justly earned the confidence of the teachers. At the same time it should be recognised that the management of the future must be very different from that of the past, when no order involving the expenditure of sixpence could be given by Managers, whose chief mission seems to have been to act as a buffer between the School Board and the teachers.

Without endorsing every action of the expiring School Board, due recognition may well be given of the work of the Board which, commencing from the smallest, has developed into the largest educational machine civilisation has perhaps ever known.

The following tables, showing the growing character of the work, are taken from recent papers issued by the Board :—

XIV.—TOTAL EXPENDITURE from the 29th November, 1870, to 25th March, 1903.

Year ended 25th March.	Number of Children in Average Attendance.	Amount levied (Precepts).	Rateable Annual Value.	Rate in the £.	Maintenance Account.	Loan Account.	Total Expenditure.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		£	£	d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1871	..	..	..	..	427 14 2	..	427 14 2
1872	895	40,000	19,970,989	.48	10,986 10 9	11,800 0 0	22,786 10 9
1873	20,658	75,000	20,296,601	.89	66,356 8 0	169,335 14 11	235,692 2 11
1874	37,383	62,000	20,296,601	.73	137,806 4 10	490,843 10 0	628,649 14 10
1875	68,250	149,866	20,565,446	1.75	284,795 5 4	532,647 19 8	817,443 5 0
1876	92,201	263,713	20,903,377	3.03	385,451 2 1	543,086 14 6	929,137 16 7
1877	113,642	398,867	21,308,984	4.49	434,170 5 0	660,623 9 2	1,074,793 14 2
1878	144,132	506,353	23,251,702	5.23	580,264 6 9	439,806 15 5	1,020,071 2 2
1879	163,763	506,306	23,584,728	5.15	693,902 6 9	406,993 6 7	1,099,995 13 4
1880	184,745	551,247	24,065,174	5.50	830,877 0 8	434,126 6 2	1,265,003 6 10
1881	198,395	643,791	24,065,326	6.28	841,589 19 3	397,540 17 4	1,238,930 16 7
1882	219,459	676,579	26,380,342	6.15	927,118 9 2	453,897 0 6	1,381,015 9 8
1883	240,008	679,595	27,521,473	5.93	1,033,909 18 10	439,697 18 4	1,473,607 17 2
1884	268,784	801,210	28,012,248	6.86	1,115,670 17 3	568,312 5 10	1,683,983 3 1
1885	279,304	950,804	28,541,916	8.00	1,416,681 3 5	684,315 16 3	2,100,996 19 8
1886	294,764	1,045,365	29,025,334	8.64	1,435,207 9 3	623,031 19 1	2,058,239 8 4
1887	319,848	1,128,046	30,621,411	8.84	1,498,497 6 11	456,747 0 11	1,955,244 7 10
1888	328,405	1,070,325	30,692,418	8.37	1,543,960 7 6	235,872 16 5	1,779,833 3 11
1889	342,321	1,028,883	30,981,825	7.97	1,579,052 15 7	197,978 15 8	1,776,131 11 3
1890	345,746	1,158,554	31,251,704	8.90	1,711,697 0 4	204,618 16 2	1,916,315 16 6
1891	347,857	1,403,280	31,485,120	10.70	1,813,978 8 1	251,631 3 3	2,065,609 11 4
1892	362,585	1,483,174	32,331,555	11.01	1,882,173 19 2	363,773 11 7	2,245,947 10 9
1893	379,445	1,447,413	33,227,619	10.45	1,977,802 19 9	450,921 15 11	2,428,724 15 8
1894	390,812	1,424,093	33,492,853	10.20	2,043,102 5 11	488,312 3 6	2,531,414 9 5
1895	401,912	1,469,850	33,753,569	10.45	2,171,261 7 11	508,526 4 4	2,679,787 12 3
1896	416,367	1,631,663	34,064,689	11.50	2,347,431 2 2	562,939 2 4	2,910,370 4 6
1897	422,691	1,800,926	35,027,648	12.34	2,414,102 19 7	554,191 1 7	2,968,354 1 2
1898	430,737	1,852,326	35,961,325	12.36	2,508,862 15 11	510,020 12 4	3,018,883 8 3
1899	439,684	1,872,729	36,332,812	12.37	2,648,409 6 9	556,702 15 7	3,205,112 2 4
1900	441,315	2,049,582	36,789,317	13.37	2,790,493 0 8	597,611 1 10	3,388,104 2 6
1901	446,866	2,172,047	37,278,038	13.98	2,953,948 17 10	573,289 11 4	3,527,238 9 2
1902	462,840	2,339,540	38,642,744	14.51	3,118,550 12 6	623,622 9 11	3,742,173 2 5
1903	475,150	2,437,772	39,968,714	14.66	3,254,879 13 3	575,837 10 7	3,830,717 3 10
Total	..	..	..	..	48,433,480 1 4	14,567,256 7 0	63,000,736 8 4
					Less Amount repaid	3,695,956 11 9	3,695,956 11 9
					£48,433,480 1 4	£10,871,299 15 3	£59,304,779 16 7

Without in any way wishing to disparage the work of the School Board, and with the greatest admiration for the energy of the members, it cannot be disputed that one of the results of that super-centralised system of administration was to minimise local interest in the schools; and one of the most useful effects of the new Act will be the expansion of local interest in Education, and a feeling will be aroused in the minds of Managers that their powers and responsibilities in respect of the schools are worthy of their best attention; and that confidence reposed in them as Managers must be justified by the energy and success of their administration.

The above figures abundantly prove that upon an adequate scheme of delegation depends the success of the future educational machinery, at least so far as elementary instruction is concerned.

On the assumption that the Borough will be taken as an administrative area, the following tables show the number of ordinary elementary schools and scholars in each district :—

Delegation
necessary.

Schools
and
scholars in
each
borough.

SUMMARY OF A RETURN, showing, for each of the Metropolitan Boroughs within the School District for London, the statistics of child population (ages 3 to 14), Census 1901, and accommodation, roll and attendance during the year ended 20th March, 1903.

Name of Borough.	CHILD POPULATION —3 to 14, Census 1901.				BOARD SCHOOLS.				NON-BOARD SCHOOLS.			
	No. of Schools.	No. of De- partments.	Accommo- dation.	Average Roll.	Average Attend- ance.	Percentage of Attend- ance on Roll.	No. of Schools.	No. of De- partments.	Accommo- dation.	Average Roll.	Average Attend- ance.	Percentage of Average Attend- ance.
City of London...	3	7	2,217	2,093	1,840	87.9	14	26	3,035	2,207	1,926	87.2
Battersea ..	19	58	25,016	25,113	18,827	86.9	9	21	4,339	4,701	3,893	82.8
Barnetsey ..	20	59	24,068	21,436	18,643	86.9	19	39	7,589	7,383	6,267	84.8
Bedford Green ..	33	63	25,913	24,870	21,298	85.3	10	22	4,996	4,732	3,888	82.1
Camberwell ..	36	104	43,827	41,205	35,395	85.8	16	32	6,923	7,651	6,250	81.6
Chelsea ..	5	12	6,077	5,650	4,719	83.5	15	26	4,631	4,203	3,499	83.2
Deptford ..	15	45	16,644	16,094	13,614	84.5	4	8	1,821	1,601	1,321	82.5
Finsbury ..	14	41	15,620	14,607	12,347	84.5	10	15	4,692	4,315	3,538	81.9
Fulham ..	18	55	24,066	23,888	20,782	86.9	7	13	1,893	2,038	1,734	84.2
Greenwich ..	16	47	16,248	15,844	13,910	87.7	7	19	3,336	3,442	2,927	85.0
Hackney ..	28	81	33,748	31,620	27,335	86.4	18	37	5,070	5,837	4,869	83.4
Hammersmith ..	11	31	13,704	12,808	11,168	87.1	13	25	4,581	4,487	3,807	84.8
Hampstead ..	6	13	5,696	5,583	4,681	83.8	9	18	2,202	2,358	1,966	83.3
Holborn ..	5	15	4,418	3,401	2,788	81.9	11	34	5,920	5,213	4,189	80.3
Islington ..	36	105	43,474	42,838	36,763	85.8	19	51	8,646	9,673	7,918	81.8
Kenington ..	10	30	11,359	9,723	9,723	86.4	21	44	8,952	8,233	6,821	82.8
Lambeth ..	24	73	27,542	26,794	23,405	87.3	41	82	17,240	17,381	14,688	84.5
Lewisham ..	14	38	13,542	13,996	11,840	84.5	16	33	4,923	4,806	4,078	84.8
Paddington ..	7	19	8,361	8,472	7,385	87.1	23	55	11,074	13,218	10,831	81.9
Poplar ..	27	75	28,933	26,025	22,199	85.2	17	67	6,348	6,967	5,690	81.6
St. Marylebone ..	7	21	6,523	5,864	4,944	84.3	27	62	13,461	11,315	9,309	82.2
St. Pancras ..	20	60	22,911	22,931	19,665	85.7	28	67	12,714	12,910	10,243	79.3
Shoreditch ..	17	49	19,856	16,163	16,163	84.8	7	17	2,781	3,317	2,885	86.9
Southwark ..	29	87	34,042	32,218	27,895	86.5	21	51	11,563	10,730	9,200	85.7
Stepney ..	37	102	39,591	38,391	34,213	89.1	42	97	23,909	24,666	20,839	84.4
Stoke Newington ..	4	12	5,412	5,207	4,538	87.1	4	8	926	943	803	85.1
Wandsworth ..	30	79	28,062	28,347	24,460	86.2	33	63	10,876	10,151	8,450	83.2
Westminster City ..	7	21	4,779	4,060	3,549	87.4	39	85	17,804	14,338	12,235	85.3
Woolwich ..	24	65	21,132	20,441	18,253	89.2	12	26	4,465	4,448	3,907	87.8
Total, Twenty-nine	509	1,467	572,724	530,098	475,282	86.3	512	1,113	216,810	213,284	177,971	83.4

In addition to the ordinary elementary schools the Board have established throughout the Metropolis special schools for the instruction of children who are blind, deaf, or physically or mentally defective, also centres where boys are given manual training and girls are given lessons in housewifery, laundry work and cookery.

Details as to the number of these centres may be gathered from the Annual Report of their work published by the School Board.

No scheme for the management of special schools, of which there were ninety-three in 1902, is prescribed by the Act; it will, therefore, be for the new authority to decide how far responsibility for the management of these schools should be delegated.

The distinction between management and control should be carefully borne in mind.

The latter will be in every case retained by the central authority by the fact that the purse strings are in their hands, and by the powers which they will have of making rules which it will be the duty of the managers to carry out.

The existing School Management Code, together with the instruction issued in relation to the enforcement of attendance by-laws, will no doubt be taken as the basis of these rules, but to provide for an adequate amount of delegation they will in many details require modification. As a contrast to this system of central government may be quoted the proceedings of the Technical Education Board hereafter referred to.

For the purpose of ensuring the regular attendance of the 880,000 children of school age in this Metropolis, there

Special schools for blind, deaf and deficient.
School attendance, method of enforcing.

exists, in each of the eleven present School Board divisions, an army of visitors with a staff of clerks and a divisional superintendent nominally under the members for the division, but actually under the control of one of the Committees of the Board.

In connection with this work, the School Board, upon the recommendation of the divisional members, appoint attendance committees, before whom parents are summoned to explain the absence of their children from school. These Committees, largely consisting of managers, perform most useful and often distressing work, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the services of these men and women will be retained under the new *régime* in one form or another.

The unwieldiness of many of the present School Board areas is admitted by all, but when the Metropolitan Borough becomes the administrative basis, it ought not to be difficult to amalgamate under one head the school management and school attendance work within the same area.

New sites
for schools.

By section 2, sub-section (2), of the Act, Borough Councils must in future be consulted on the question of site before a new school is established within their area, but beyond this it does not appear that Borough Councils have any say as to the character of the building to be erected. The Education Committee of the County Council will be called upon at a very early date to decide how much of the detail work of repairs and alterations they can hand over to Boards of Managers.

Present
system of
carrying
out repairs
too much
central-
ised.

In no department of the School Board's work have there been more glaring instances of the evils of Progressive centralisation. That men and women, presumably elected to give their knowledge and energy to educational subjects, should have

been called upon to spend hours and days deciding questions as to the rate to be paid for sweeping chimneys or cleaning windows will, it is to be hoped, be considered a state of things unworthy of continuance, and not conducive either to education or economy.

As in the case of school management and school attendance above-mentioned, so in the case of all works of repairs and alterations to school premises. The Borough may be taken as a convenient area for the establishment of a depôt for carrying out the works required at the different schools within the district, under the management of a Committee formed of the local managers.

Another branch of the work of the School Board, which will fall to the lot of the County Council, is the work under the Industrial Schools Act. According to the last report, 3,945 children were in the custody of the School Board under these Acts. Of these, 1,066 were in schools managed by the Board either alone or jointly, and 2,879 were in schools or institutions with which the Board have agreements.

The Industrial Schools Committee, acting through sub-committees, occupy the position of managers of the schools conducted by them for the purposes of the Industrial Schools Act, and are thereby called upon to give or allow to be given religious instruction to the children in those schools in accordance with the faith of their parents.

Industrial
schools.

Instruction
in Indus-
trial
Schools,
both
Religious
and
Secular.

In the case of children in schools not conducted by the Board, but with which they have agreements, the managers of these different schools are responsible for the instruction, religious as well as secular, given therein, subject, of course,

as in the Board's own schools, to Home Office inspection, and the visits of the Board's inspectors.

It is interesting, if not curious, to note that, although £29,790 was paid by the Board out of the elementary school rate during the year 1902-3 for the maintenance and disposal of children in outside schools, where the Board had practically no voice in the management—(and this practice of subsidizing education in schools, where denominational teaching is given, has obtained for the last thirty years)—not a murmur of dissent has been raised, either within or without the Board, and no Passive Resister has preferred the public sale of his piano rather than contribute to the instruction of a child in the declared belief of the parent.

The care of the children in industrial schools—with which the Board have agreements—shows how absolutely hollow and unreal is the objection now raised by Radicals to payments out of the rates in support of denominational schools.

In the former case the Board have no say in the instruction, religious or secular, given in the schools, save through the annual visit of their Inspector, and have a very small amount of representation on the governing body.

In the latter case, the County Council and the Borough Council will have the right to appoint one-third of the managers, and the Education Committee will have the right to lay down a syllabus of secular instruction, and to see that it is carried out, by the regular and irregular visits of their inspectors, also to check, if they think right, every expenditure on school maintenance and management incurred by the managers.

Religious
instruction.

The religious question, of which so much is made on platforms, does not exist in the schools. The more the matter

is looked into, the more apparent it is that the existing law provides an adequate protection for the parents of children who have a conscientious objection to dogmatic religious teaching being given to their children in school.

As considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to the amount and character of the religious teaching given in the Board schools, it is not uninstrusive to set out the sections of Acts of Parliament dealing with the subject and the rules laid down by the School Board on the subject. Section 7 of the Act of 1870, applying to every elementary school (commonly known as the Conscience Clause), enacts—

“(1) It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into, or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance, or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs.

“(2) The time or times during which any religious observance is practised, or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of the school, shall be either at the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and the end of such meeting, and shall be inserted in a time table to be approved by the Board of Education, and to be kept permanently and conspicuously affixed in every school room; and any scholar may be withdrawn by his parent from such observance or

instruction without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school.

“(3) The school shall be open at all times to the inspection of any of Her Majesty’s inspectors, so, however, that it shall be in no part of the duties of such inspector to enquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such school, or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book.”

Section 14, applying to Board schools (commonly known as the Cowper-Temple clause), enacts as follows :—“ Every school provided by a School Board shall be conducted under the control and management of such Board in accordance with the following regulations :

“(2) No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught.”

Article 200 of the School Management Code, referring to Bible instruction and religious observances, is as follows :—

“ In the schools provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of the Christian religion and of morality as are suited to the capacities of children, provided always—

“(i.) That in such explanations and instruction the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, in sections VII. and XIV. be strictly observed, both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination.

“(ii.) That, in regard to any particular school, the Board shall consider and determine upon any application by managers, parents, or ratepayers

of the district who may show special cause for exception of the school from the operation of this resolution, in whole or in part.

“Such explanations and instruction as are recognised by the foregoing regulation shall be given by the responsible teachers of the school.”

In this article the term “responsible teachers” does not include pupil teachers, except those of the last two years of apprenticeship, who, under special circumstances and under the supervision of the head teachers, are allowed to give scripture lessons.

In all schools, provision may be made for giving effect to the following resolutions of the Board, passed on July 26th, 1871 :—

- (i.) That, in accordance with the general practice of existing elementary schools, provision may be made for offering prayer and using hymns in schools provided by the Board at the “time or times,” when, according to section VII., sub-section II. of the Elementary Education Act, “religious observances” may be “practiced.”
- (ii.) That the arrangements for such “religious observances” be left to the discretion of the teacher and managers of each school, with the right of appeal to the Board by teachers, managers, parents, or ratepayers of the district :—

Provided always—

That in the offering of any prayers, and in the use of any hymns, the provisions of the Act in sections VII. and XIV., be strictly observed, both in letter and in spirit, and that no attempt be made to attach children to any particular denomination.

During the time of religious teaching or religious observance, any children withdrawn from such teaching or observance shall receive separate instruction in secular subjects.

The time for religious instruction is fixed by Article 143 :—

“The door of the school room is to be closed at 9 o’clock, and the roll called and prayers offered. Immediately

after prayers the doors are to be re-opened, the the children admitted who have assembled in the meantime, and the doors again closed. From that time to 9.40 Bible instruction is to be given."

Religious
opinions of
teachers.

By Article 15, the Board have endeavoured as far as possible to protect teachers from being subjected to cross-examination on their appointment as to their religious opinions.

Experience shows that, in London at least, the conscience clause is resorted to in very few instances and the number of cases, in which it has been alleged that teachers have offended against even the spirit of the Cowper-Temple clause, has been very small; in fact, it may be said, with absolute confidence, that the religious question, which has bulked so large on platforms at election times, does not exist in the schools.

As to the manner in which religious instruction is given much, of course, must depend upon the sincerity and earnestness, or the reverse, of the teachers, and especially that of the head teacher, whose example and influence must operate strongly upon the staff, and throughout the school.

Test or no
test for
teachers.

In this connection it will be noted that the question of test or no test for the head teachers of non-provided (otherwise Voluntary) schools is the one perhaps, most hotly contested between denominationalists and undenominationalists. Not unnaturally the trustees and owners of these schools which were originally endowed, and have been long maintained, by people with certain religious views, for the instruction of children whose parents hold similar views, are anxious to retain that religious influence throughout the school; and this can be only guaranteed if the head teacher be in sympathy.

The fact that these schools are now receiving aid from rates as well as taxes cannot be said to alter the obligations of trustees or the rights of parents, nor to give teachers any new right to appointments in schools to which their previous training renders them unsympathetic.

With the view, however, of giving the fullest advantages to the teaching profession, Section 7 of the Act of 1902 enacts that in the not provided schools, instead of the managers having absolute power as at present, the consent of the Education Authority is required to the appointment of all teachers, which consent shall not be withheld except upon educational grounds; also in these schools assistant teachers and pupil teachers may be appointed, if it is thought fit, without reference to religious creed or denomination, and in any case in which there are more candidates for the post of pupil teachers than there are places to be filled, the appointment shall be made by the Local Education Authority, and they shall determine the respective qualifications of the candidates by examination or otherwise.

The average annual gross cost per child under the London **Finance.** School Board in the year ended March, 1903, was £4 12s. 9d. and the nett cost £3 2s. The nett cost is arrived at by deducting from the gross cost amounts received from (A) Education grants; (B) School fees and fee grants; (C) Science and art grants; (D) Sundries including rents of schools. In 1902-3, these were: (A) £484,251; (B) £233,293; (C) £188; (D) £11,859.

Under the new Act the County Council will be required to provide for *maintaining* the education of the 213,000 children on the roll of Voluntary schools, and, if the Act did not bring some compensation, undoubtedly a very heavy charge would immediately fall upon the London ratepayers. Fortunately,

from and after the appointed day London schools will be entitled to receive grants from the Imperial Exchequer upon the higher scale laid down by the Act of 1902, and it is estimated that the postponement of the coming into operation of the Act would mean a loss at the rate of £190,000 per annum, inasmuch as London would be contributing to this increased taxation in respect of elementary education grants throughout the rest of England, without receiving anything in return. (*Vide* L.C.C. Minutes, 28th July, 1903.)

Cost to
London
of delaying
use of the
Act.

The desire of the Progressives appears to be, instead of maintaining the education of these 213,000 children in their present existing schools, to allow these schools to starve and to provide the children with undenominational instruction in new schools to be built at the expense of the ratepayers.

The present cost of school building, apart from the cost of site, is about £27 per school place, and the mere statement of such a policy should be enough to condemn it.

The amount outstanding on loan account on the 24th March, 1903, was over £11,000,000, for the repayment of which, and interest, £654,737 was provided in the year then ending. This, with £100,000 spent on repairs to buildings, represents approximately one-fifth of the total cost of the Board's work.

Under the Act, the managers of the non-provided schools provide the buildings and upkeep, therefore the ratepayers are, as regards the children therein, saved one-fifth of the total cost, or at the rate of, at least, 18s. per child.

These figures, besides being interesting in themselves, show how absolutely indefensible is the Radical cry against the Act that the owners and supporters of Church schools are giving nothing in return for the right and obligation

which they retain (not acquire) under the Act, to give religious instruction in accordance with the trust deeds of the school—equally enjoyed by every Wesleyan and other Nonconformist school.

One of the great difficulties which it was the object of the Education Act, 1902, and the London Act, 1903, to overcome was that raised by the judgments in what has been called the *Cockerton Case*, which decided that much of the work, carried on by the School Board for London in evening continuation schools was not elementary, but in fact, secondary education. Evening
schools.

In no branch of their work has the zeal of the School Board overstepped their legitimate powers more conspicuously than here—and the criticisms passed upon it, although not always giving credit to the Board for the difficulties in which they found themselves, have often-times been just.

To accurately test the value of the work of these schools is exceedingly difficult. On the one hand, it is claimed that these schools provide the only real chance for a really intelligent scholar of poor parents to rise to something better, and to cultivate the intellect which elementary work in the day school has partly aroused. On the other hand, it is said, and with some truth in some cases, that these schools are packed with teachers improving their qualifications at the ratepayers' expense, and with students in name only, who come for the social evenings which are provided.

Government inspectors have undoubtedly made severe comment upon the work of these schools, and if they are to become in fact, what they are in theory—secondary schools, a great deal more care must be given to the reception and rejection of different students in different schools.

In the past there has undoubtedly been competition rather than co-operation between these schools and the polytechnics; now however for the first time there is a chance of bringing into one harmonious system, the efforts of all those who have sought to supply the want, so long felt, of a well-organised continuation course of instruction.

The recent re-imposition of fees, small though they be, has been of considerable value in sifting out the "undesirables," and in improving regularity of attendance. That rate-payers, who have to work late hours themselves, should be called upon to pay the whole cost of providing teachers and policemen, clerks and milliners, with means of improving their position by obtaining certificates at secondary schools, was little short of a scandal, and the re-establishment of a fee was but a tardy recognition of the principle that a man values most that for which he pays something.

Technical Education.

Particulars of the character of the work done in the different schools, colleges, polytechnics and classes, assisted by the Technical Education Board, are given in the annual report of that body, and in the report for 1901-2 are set out maps showing the institutions and schools of different kinds throughout the Metropolis. From the first, the policy of the Technical Education Board has been to aid the existing supply of technical instruction rather than of creating new and competitive institutions.

The excellence of that policy is manifested in the amount of work done for the money, and in the interest taken in their success by the members of the different governing bodies. The Board reserve the right to nominate representatives, and, through the medium of the purse-strings, preserve sufficient

control to insure that the instruction given in these institutions is of such a character as in their opinion is useful and in harmony with that of other institutions.

The amount voted by the County Council from the "Whiskey" money was, in 1902-3, £180,000, and, so far, no rate in aid has been levied, but looking to the fact that both evening schools and pupil teacher centres are now held to give secondary, and not elementary education, it will require the utmost watchfulness to prevent a *Progressive* rate for this, as for other purposes.

London has not been fortunate enough to possess, till the new Act was passed, any body supervising secondary education; it is therefore not easy to estimate how far the Metropolis is supplied with this class of instruction, or what will be the amount or character of the work devolving upon the new committee under this head. Secondary schools.

Certain it is, that although the Technical Education Board have in existence an admirable system of scholarships—so far as it goes—much more will require to be done to enable promising scholars from elementary schools to continue their instruction, to do justice, not only to themselves, but also to the Metropolis that has invested so much money in their primary instruction.

The difficulty of bridging over this gulf between the two schools, led the School Board to overstep their legal limits, and to establish what were, in fact, secondary classes both in day and evening schools.

The new authority will have power to establish the necessary scholarships, and when this is done, much of the work now done in the higher grade and higher elementary schools of the Board should be treated as intermediate (as it

in fact is), and schools should receive the status which they can only hold if payment be made by the scholars for the advanced teaching which they receive.

In the year 1902-3, grants to the amount of £29,500 were made to the secondary schools, but the definition in the Technical Instruction Act has always prevented the Council's money from being given to assist this class of school in as full a measure as they needed.

PART II.

PROGRESSIVE HOSTILITY TO THE EDUCATION BILL.

At a special meeting of the London County Council, held on April 28th, 1903, to consider the London Education Bill, a report was presented by the Parliamentary Committee recommending—

- (A) "That having considered the provisions of the London Education Bill, this Council expresses its deep regret that the Bill fails to provide either for the efficient management of Education or for popular control, and will introduce confusion and conflict into the Local Government of London."
- (B) "That this Council is strongly opposed to the scheme proposed by the Bill, and would prefer either the maintenance of the present system or the creation of one directly elected education authority, which shall have real and complete control over all grades of education."

To this an amendment was moved—

"That this Council approves generally of the Education Bill, reserving its opinion as to details to a later date."

This amendment was defeated, there being 80 Progressive votes against, 23 Conservative votes for.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—80 PROGRESSIVES.

Allen, A. A. (Bermondsey).	Collins, Sir W. J. (W. St. Pancras).
Austin, Edwin (Hoxton).	Cooper, B. (Bow and Bromley).
Baker, J. A. (E. Finsbury).	Cooper, G. J. (Bermondsey).
Bawn, W. B. (Linchouse).	Cornwall, E. A. (V.C.) (N.E. Bethnal Green).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Crooks, W. (Poplar).
Blackwood, J. (N. Paddington).	Dew, G. (Alderman).
Blake, W. F. (Alderman).	Dickinson, W. H. (Alderman).
Bowerman, C. W. (Alderman).	Dolman, F. (Brixton).
Branch, J. (S.W. Bethnal Green).	Davies, T. (Fulham).
Bruce, W. W. (Bow and Bromley).	Davies, W. (Battersea).
Carrington, Earl (W. St. Pancras).	Gilbert, J. D. (Teller) (W. Newington).
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham).	Glanville, H. J. (Rotherhithe).
Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham).	Goodman, W. (W. Islington).
Collins, S. (Kennington).	

- Gosling, H. (Alderman).
 Hardy, G. A. (Dulwich).
 Hemphill, Capt. F. (Cen. Finsbury).
 Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood).
 Hunter T. (W. Southwark).
 Idris, T. H. W. (E. St. Pancras).
 Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich).
 Jeffery, J. (Chelsea).
 Jephson, H. (N. Kensington).
 Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).
 Lampard, G. (N. Hackney).
 Langhland, J. (E. Islington).
 Lawson, Peter (Fulham).
 Leon, A. L. (Linchouse).
 Lewis, J. (W. Marylebone).
 Macdonald, J. R. (Cen. Finsbury).
 McDougall, Sir John (Poplar).
 Mullins, W. E. (Hampstead).
 Napier, T. B. (Teller) (N. Islington).
 Organ, T. A. (E. St. Pancras).
 Parkinson, W. C. (N. Islington).
 Piggott, John (W. Newington).
 Pope, W. (N. Kensington).
 Radford, G. H. (W. Islington).
 Ribblesdale, Lord (Alderman).
 Russell, Earl (Alderman).
 Sandhurst, Lord (Alderman).
 Sears, J. E. (N. Hackney).
 Sharp, L. (Brixton).
 Sheffield, Lt.-Col. F. (S. St. Pancras).
 Shephard, A. J. (Cen. Hackney).
 Shrubsall, G. (Norwood).
 Smith, Alfred (S. Hackney).
 Smith, Edward (N.E. Bethnal Green).
 Smith, J. (St. George-in-the-East).
 Spicer, Evan (Alderman).
 Spokes, R. (Walworth).
 Steadman, W. C. (Stepney).
 Strauss, B. S. (Mile End).
 Strong, R. (N. Camberwell).
 Stuart, J. (Haggerston).
 Taylor, H. R. (N. Camberwell).
 Torrance, A. M. (E. Islington).
 Tweedmouth, Lord (Alderman).
 Verney, F. W. (Peckham).
 Waterlow, D. S. (N. St. Pancras).
 Webb, Sidney (Deptford).
 West, Rt. Hon. Sir A. E. (Alderman).
 Wightman, W. (Lambeth).
 Wilberforce, H. W. W. (N. St. Pancras).
 Williams, Rev. C. Fleming (Alderman).
 Wood, T. McKinnon (Cen. Hackney).
 Yates, W. B. (Alderman).

FOR THE AMENDMENT—23 CONSERVATIVES.

- Alliston, F. P. (City of London).
 Antrobus, R. C. (Alderman).
 Beachcroft, R. M. (Teller)
 (N. Paddington).
 Campbell, C. H. (S. Kensington).
 Clarke, Henry (City of London).
 Cousins, J. Ratcliffe (Dulwich).
 Dodson, G. E. (Teller) (Lewisham).
 Fletcher, J. S. (Hampstead).
 Forman, E. B. (Alderman).
 Gaskell, T. P. (Clapham).
 Goodrich, A. O. (Mile End).
 Greenwood, H. J. (St. George, Hanover
 Square).
 Harben, H. A. (S. Paddington).
 Harris, H. P. (S. Paddington).
 Low, Sidney (Alderman).
 Probyn, Lt.-Col. C. (Strand).
 Robinson, Sir F. L. (Alderman).
 Robinson, R. A. (S. Kensington).
 Rotton, Lt.-Col. A. (Clapham).
 Sankey, Stuart (City of London).
 Squires, W. J. (Woolwich).
 Swinton, Capt. G. S. C. (Holborn).
 White, E. (W. Marylebone).

The Recommendation (A) was then passed by the Progressive majority of the Council.

On the motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee (B)—

Amendment moved by the Deputy-Chairman of the Council, Mr. R. A. Robinson (Conservative), seconded by Mr. Beachcroft (Conservative)—

That all words after the word "is" in line 1 of the recommendation be omitted, and that the following words be substituted:—"willing to be the education authority for the Administrative County of London, acting through an education committee, on which the Council shall have a majority."

Amendment put to the vote, and the Council having divided, there appeared—

FOR THE AMENDMENT—21 CONSERVATIVES.

Alliston, F. P. (City of London).	Harben, H. A. (S. Paddington).
Antrobus, R. C. (Alderman).	Harris, H. P. (S. Paddington).
Beachcroft, R. M. (N. Paddington).	Probyn, Lt.-Col. C. (Strand).
Bliss, Sir H. W. (Holborn).	Robinson, Sir F. L. (Alderman).
Brandon, Jocelyn (Hammersmith).	Robinson, R. A. (S. Kensington).
Campbell, C. H. (S. Kensington).	Rotton, Lt.-Col. A. (Clapham).
Dodson, G. E. (Teller) (Lewisham).	Sankey, Stuart (City of London).
Forman, E. B. (Alderman).	Swinton, Capt. G. S. C. (Holborn).
Gaskell, T. P. (Clapham).	White, E. (W. Marylebone).
Goodrich, A. O. (Mile End).	Williams, A. T. (Stepney).
Greenwood, H. J. (St. George, Hanover Square).	

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—77 PROGRESSIVES.

Allen, A. A. (Bermondsey).	Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham).
Baker, J. A. (E. Finsbury).	Collins, S. (Kennington).
Bawn, W. B. (Limehouse).	Collins, Sir W. J. (W. St. Pancras).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Cooper, B. (Bow and Bromley).
Blackwood, J. (N. Paddington).	Cooper, G. J. (Bermondsey).
Blake, W. F. (Alderman).	Cornwall, E. A., V.C. (N.E. Bethnal Green).
Branch, J. (S.W. Bethnal Green).	Davies, T. (Fulham).
Bruce, W. W. (Bow and Bromley).	Davies, W. (Battersea).
Carrington, Earl (W. St. Pancras).	Dew, G. (Alderman).
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham).	Dickinson, W. H. (Alderman).

Dolman, F. (Brixton).	Pope, W. (N. Kensington).
Gilbert, J. D. (Teller) (W. Newington).	Radford, G. H. (W. Islington).
Glanville, H. J. (Rotherhithe).	Sandhurst, Lord (Alderman).
Goodman, W. (W. Islington).	Sears, J. E. (N. Hackney).
Gosling, H. (Alderman).	Sharp, L. (Brixton).
Hardy, G. A. (Dulwich).	Sheffield, Lt.-Col. F. (S. St. Pancras).
Hemphill, Capt. F. (Cen. Finsbury).	Shepherd, A. J. (Cen. Hackney).
Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood).	Shrubsall, G. (Norwood).
Hunter, T. (W. Southwark).	Smith, Alfred (S. Hackney).
Idris, T. H. W. (E. St. Pancras).	Smith, Edward (N.E. Bethnal Green).
Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich).	Smith, J. (St. George-in-the-East).
Jeffery, J. (Chelsea).	Spicer, Evan (Alderman).
Jephson, H. (N. Kensington).	Spokes, R. (Walworth).
Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).	Steadman, W. C. (Stepney).
Lampard, G. (N. Hackney).	Strauss, B. S. (Mile End).
Laughland, J. (E. Islington).	Stuart, J. (Haggerston).
Lawson, Peter (Fulham).	Taylor, H. R. (N. Camberwell).
Leon, A. L. (Limehouse).	Torrance, A. M. (E. Islington).
Lewis, J. (W. Marylebone).	Tweedmouth, Lord (Alderman).
Little, J. Fletcher (E. Marylebone).	Verney, F. W. (Peckham).
Macdonald, J. R. (Cen. Finsbury).	Waterlow, D. S. (N. St. Pancras).
McDougall, Sir John (Poplar).	Webb, Sidney (Deptford).
Mullins, W. E. (Hampstead).	Welby, Lord (Alderman).
Napier, T. B. (Teller) (N. Islington).	West, Rt. Hon. Sir A. E. (Alderman).
Organ, T. A. (E. St. Pancras).	Wightman, W. (Lambeth).
Parker, R. (Walworth).	Wilberforce, H. W. W. (N. St. Pancras).
Parkinson, W. C. (N. Islington).	Williams, Rev. C. Fleming (Alderman).
Piggott, John (W. Newington).	Wood, T. McKinnon (Cen. Hackney).
Yates, W. B. (Alderman).	

Amendment declared to be lost.

Amendment moved by Mr. Baker (Progressive), seconded by the Vice-Chairman of the Council :—

That the words, “ upon which women shall be eligible for election and,” be inserted after the word “ authority ” at the end of line 2 of the recommendation.

Amendment put, and declared to be carried.

On the motion, as amended, being put, amendment put by Dr. Cooper (Progressive), seconded by Mr. Hubbard (Progressive) :—

That the words “ specially elected for the purpose and having ” be substituted for the words, “ which shall have,” in line 3 of the recommendation.

Amendment put to the vote, and, the Council having divided, there appeared—

FOR THE AMENDMENT—64 PROGRESSIVES.

Allen, A. A. (Bermondsey).	Laughland, J. (E. Islington).
Baker, J. A. (E. Finsbury).	Lawson, Peter (Fulham).
Bawn, W. B. (Limehouse).	Leon, A. L. (Limehouse).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Lewis, J. (W. Marylebone).
Blackwood, J. (N. Paddington).	Macdonald, J. R. (Cen. Finsbury).
Blake, W. F. (Alderman).	McDougall, Sir John (Poplar).
Branch, J. (S.W. Bethnal Green).	Parker, R. (Walworth).
Carrington, Earl (W. St. Pancras).	Parkinson, W. C. (N. Islington).
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham).	Piggott, John (W. Newington).
Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham).	Pope, W. (N. Kensington).
Collins, S. (Kennington).	Radford, G. H. (W. Islington).
Cooper, B. (Bow and Bromley).	Sears, J. E. (N. Hackney).
Cooper, G. J. (Teller) (Bermondsey).	Sharp, L. (Brixton).
Cornwall, E. A., V.C. (N.E. Bethnal Green).	Sheffield, Lt.-Col. F. (S. St. Pancras).
Davies, T. (Fulham).	Shepherd, A. J. (Cen. Hackney).
Davies, W. (Battersea).	Shrubsall, G. (Norwood).
Dew, G. (Alderman).	Smith, Alfred (S. Hackney).
Dickinson, W. H. (Alderman).	Smith, Edward (N.E. Bethnal Green).
Dolman, F. (Brixton).	Smith, J. (St. George-in-the-East).
Gilbert, J. D. (W. Newington).	Spicer, Evan (Alderman).
Glanville, H. J. (Rotherhithe).	Spokes, R. (Walworth).
Gosling H. (Alderman).	Steadman, W. C. (Stepney).
Hardy, G. A. (Dulwich).	Strauss, B. S. (Mile End).
Hemphill, Capt. F. (Cen. Finsbury).	Stuart, J. (Haggerston).
Hubbard, N. W. (Teller) (Norwood).	Taylor, H. R. (N. Camberwell).
Hunter, T. (W. Southwark).	Torrance, A. M. (E. Islington).
Idris, T. H. W. (E. St. Pancras).	Verney, F. W. (Peckham).
Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich).	Waterlow, D. S. (N. St. Pancras).
Jeffery, J. (Chelsea).	Welby, Lord (Alderman).
Jephson, H. (N. Kensington).	Wightman, W. (Lambeth).
Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).	Williams, Rev. C. Fleming (Alderman).
Lampard, G. (N. Hackney).	Wood, T. McKinnon (Cen. Hackney).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—16 CONSERVATIVES, 1 PROGRESSIVE.

Alliston, F. P. (City of London).	Little, J. Fletcher (E. Marylebone).
Antrobus, R. C. (Alderman).	Napier, T. B. (P.) (N. Islington).
Beachcroft, R. M. (Teller) (N. Paddington).	Probyn, Lt.-Col. C. (Strand).
Bliss, Sir H. W. (Holborn).	Robinson, R. A. (S. Kensington).
Campbell, C. H. (S. Kensington).	Sankey, Stuart (City of London).
Cousins, J. Ratcliffe (Teller) (Dulwich).	Swinton, Capt. G. S. C. (Holborn).
Harben, H. A. (S. Paddington).	White, E. (W. Marylebone).
Harris, H. P. (S. Paddington).	Williams, A. T. (Stepney).

Amendment moved by Mr. Radford (Progressive), seconded by Mr. Hardy (Progressive) :—

That the following words be added to the recommendation as amended :—
 “and that this Council earnestly protests against being required by law to make rates to be applied in the maintenance of denominational schools which are not under public control. and in the payment of the salaries of teachers who, while paid wholly out of public money, are subjected to religious tests.”

The following 60 Progressives voted for this resolution :—

Allen, A. A. (Bermondsey).	Little, J. Fletcher (Marylebone, E.).
Baker, J. A. (Finsbury, E.).	Macdonald, J. R. (Finsbury, Central).
Bawn, W. B. (Limchouse).	McDougall, Sir John (Poplar).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Mullins, W. E. (Hampstead).
Blake, W. F. (Alderman).	Napier, T. B. (Islington, N.).
Branch, J. (Bethnal Green, S.W.).	Parker, R. (Walworth).
Carrington, Earl (St. Pancras, W.).	Piggott, John (Newington, W.).
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham).	Pope, W. (Kensington, N.).
Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham).	Radford, G. H. (Teller) (Islington, W.).
Collins, S. (Kennington).	Sears, J. E. (Hackney, N.).
Cooper, G. J. (Bermondsey).	Sharp, L. (Brixton).
Cornwall, E. A., V.C. (Bethnal Green, N.E.).	Sheffield, Lt.-Col. F. (St. Pancras, S.).
Davies, T. (Fulham).	Shepherd, A. J. (Hackney, Cent.).
Davies, W. (Battersea).	Shrubsall, G. (Norwood).
Dew, G. (Alderman).	Smith, Alfred (Hackney, S.).
Dolman, F. (Brixton).	Smith, Edward (Bethnal Green, N.E.).
Gilbert, J. D. (West Newington).	Smith, J. (St. George-in-the-East).
Gosling, H. (Alderman).	Spicer, Evan (Alderman).
Hardy, G. A. (Teller) (Dulwich).	Spokes, R. (Walworth).
Hemphill, Capt. F. (Finsbury, Cent.).	Steadman, W. C. (Stepney).
Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood).	Straus, B. S. (Mile End).
Hunter, T. (Southwark, W.).	Stuart, J. (Haggerston).
Idris, T. H. W. (St. Pancras, E.).	Taylor, H. R. (Camberwell).
Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich).	Verney, F. W. (Peckham).
Jeffery, J. (Chelsea).	Waterlow, D. S. (St. Pancras, N.).
Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).	Wightman, W. (Lambeth).
Lampard, G. (Hackney, N.).	Wilberforce, H. W. W. (St. Pancras, N.).
Laughland, J. (Islington, E.).	Williams, Rev. C. F. (Alderman).
Lawson, Peter (Fulham).	Wood, T. McKinnon (Hackney, Central).
Leon, A. L. (Limchouse).	
Lewis, J. (Marylebone, W.).	

The following 10 Conservatives voted against:—

Alliston, F. P. (City of London).	Probyn, Lt.-Col. C. (Strand).
Beachcroft, R. M. (Teller)	Robinson, R. A. (S. Kensington).
(N. Paddington).	Sankey, Stuart (City of London).
Cousins, J. Ratcliffe (Teller) (Dulwich).	Swinton, Capt. G. S. C. (Holborn).
Harben, H. A. (S. Paddington).	White, E. (W. Marylebone).
Harris, H. P. (S. Paddington).	

The Council consists of 101 Progressives and 36 Conservatives, so that there were absent from the division 41 Progressives and 26 Conservatives.

The violent antagonism expressed by the Progressives against the Bill generally, and particularly against rate aid being given to Voluntary Schools is very apparent, and this violent hostility to the London Education Act and to Voluntary Schools is the true Progressive spirit in which the Act will be administered if a Progressive majority is returned to the London County Council in March next.

PART III.

THE PERIL OF LONDON'S EDUCATION.

The elections for the London County Council, which will take place in March next, will differ altogether in their import, and in the issues involved, from all previous elections for this body. For the first time the electors will be asked to return Councillors who will be primarily responsible for the efficient and fair administration of London's education. And the attitude that has been assumed by the leaders of the Progressive Party, and of the Free Churches, makes it quite plain that they, and their followers, will do their utmost, either to prevent the London Education Act coming into operation, or to so administer it as to make it an instrument of injustice to the Voluntary schools. To all Churchmen, therefore, nay, to all those who are honestly interested in the efficiency of the Voluntary schools, and who think that it is the bounden duty of all municipal bodies to carry out the powers and duties which Parliament has devolved upon them, this question must present itself at these elections: will this candidate, or that candidate, loyally accept the London Education Act, and fairly and impartially give effect to its provisions, so that all classes of elementary schools may alike benefit by its enactment? If a candidate will not pledge himself to do this, or if, indeed, he pledges himself to do exactly the reverse of this, surely it is immaterial whether he calls himself a Progressive or a Conservative, he is unworthy of the support of all electors who are sincerely interested in the educational welfare of the children of London.

It is most important that the electors shall realise the spirit with which the Progressives approach this question. Look at this specimen of it—on the County Council itself.

At a special meeting of the London County Council, held on April 28th, 1903, sixty Progressives voted that “this Council earnestly protests against being required by law to make rates to be applied in the maintenance of denominational schools which are not under public control, and to the payment of the salaries of teachers, who, while paid wholly out of public money, are subjected to religious tests,” and this recommendation was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Pro-
gressive
hostility
to Act.

Look at this other specimen of the Progressive spirit as displayed in a powerful organisation outside the Council.

The London Progressive Education Council is the organisation which conducted the Free Church campaign at the Borough Council elections, and which is now busily engaged in preparing for the next County Council elections. The chairman of its Executive Committee is Dr. Clifford. On July 24th last, at a meeting of this Executive Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Clifford, it was resolved to commence a vigorous campaign against the proposals as to management and rate-aid to denominational schools contained in the London Education Bill, and in view of the approaching elections for the Borough and County Councils, to form branch organisations in each constituency.

Pro-
gressive
alliance
with Non-
conformity.

In October last, a letter was issued from the headquarters of this Council, under the signatures (amongst others) of Mr. Corrie Grant, M.P., and Dr. Clifford, with a view to the selection of candidates for the approaching Borough and County Council elections. This letter urged the importance of

selecting only such candidates as would pledge themselves to thwart the fair working of the London Education Act. Amongst other test questions that should be put to candidates, this one is suggested :—" Will you vote against any proposal to pay any of the proceeds of the local rates to the London County Council to be spent in subsidising sectarian schools ? " This letter concludes thus :—" Every effort will be made to prevent the London Education Act coming into operation, but in the meantime Progressives must be on the alert, and must watch, with the utmost vigilance, the elections in November, and those for the County Council in March."

It is certain from what actually happened at the Borough Council elections in November, that the vast majority of so-called Progressive candidates for the London County Council elections will submit to the pressure of the Nonconformists, and will make the required pledges. It is certain that, with some few brilliant exceptions, there will be a fighting alliance between the Progressive Party on the County Council and the militant leaders of the Free Churches to "prevent the London Education Act coming into operation," or to pervert or nullify its provisions.

Free
Church
Test
Questions.

Since then, as is stated in the *Daily News* of the 8th of December, the following questions respecting education for candidates at the coming London County Council Elections have been adopted by the Executive of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation :

1. Will you, if elected, exercise your utmost influence to bring about such a reform of the existing law as shall secure a national system of education, giving (A) complete popular control to the elected representatives of the people over all schools maintained by public funds ; (B) the abolition of sectarian tests for teachers ; and (c) the omission of sectarian teaching from the curriculum of State-supported schools ?

2. Will you do your utmost to maintain and still further raise the standard of efficiency already reached in the day and evening schools of all types carried

on by the London School Board, and to make sufficient provision for higher education, and for the training of teachers, free from ecclesiastical tests ?

3. In selecting the managers, whether for provided or denominational schools, will you endeavour to appoint men and women of knowledge, experience and character, who will, without reference to denominational differences, regard the care and training of the scholars as their chief concern ?

4. Will you maintain the existing system of Biblical instruction carried on under the London School Board and resist all attempts to introduce denominational teaching into provided schools ?

5. In all cases where additional school accommodation is necessary, will you urge that the local authority shall itself promptly provide conveniently situated well-built, well-equipped schools ?

6. Will you insist that no denominational school shall be recognised by the local education authority until it has been inspected by an officer of the authority and reported as thoroughly suitable in sanitary condition and structure for the purposes of a public elementary school ?

7. Will you support the transfer of denominational or private schools to the management of the local educational authority where such transfer is proposed by the present managers and trustees ?

8. In selecting teachers, are you prepared to appoint and retain only men and women of character and efficiency without enquiry into their opinions on ecclesiastical and theological questions ?

9. Will you support a proposal that the London County Council should make a representation to his Majesty's Government that before the Education Act for London is put into operation it should be so amended as to give complete control in the case of all schools maintained out of public funds ?

What may be done in the way of impeding and marring the operation of the Act may be seen in the action of some of the Welsh County Councils, where a similar alliance between the forces of Radicalism and aggressive Nonconformity has produced Councils on which bitter sectarian majorities work their will.

For example, let us look at the action of the Carmarthenshire County Council. In *The Times* of November 21st last, there appeared this letter from Mr. Phillips, a manager of the Llandovery National School, appointed by the Borough Council, addressed to the President of the Board of Education :

Welsh
County
Councils
and
Voluntary
Schools.

Pieton Villa, Llandovery, Carmarthenshire,

Nov. 19, 1903.

My Lord,—As a manager of the Llandovery National School appointed by the Town Council under the Education Act, 1902, may I be allowed to bring to your lordship's notice the flagrant manner in which the Education Act is maladministered in this County of Carmarthen by the County Council? On October 30, our correspondent received the following letter from the clerk of the County Council—

“County Education Office, Carmarthen,

Oct. 29, 1903.

Dear Sir,—I am directed to convey to you the following resolution which was passed by this Council on the 28th inst.:—‘That during the current quarter so much grant only shall be paid to each Voluntary school as is received from the Board of Education in respect of such school.’ In accordance therewith I beg to inform you that I shall forward to you on behalf of your managers all grants or instalments of grants as soon as received by this Council from the Board of Education. Beyond this the Council declines to interfere with the management of the Voluntary schools within its area.

Yours truly,

J. W. NICHOLAS.”

The result of this deliberate violation of the law by our County Council has been to place the managers of our school in a position of great difficulty and anxiety. Hitherto it has been the custom here to pay the teachers their salaries at the end of each month. But when they applied at the end of October for their usual monthly payments, we had received no money from the County Council out of which to pay them, and they are seriously inconvenienced. This is a most painful position both for the teachers and the managers. Another difficulty is how to provide the ordinary school necessities. During the recent wet weather the teachers urgently requisitioned the managers for coal, and as we could not but recognize that fire was necessary for the children's health, we ordered fuel at our own responsibility. But as the grants will not be sufficient for the maintenance of this school I am anxious to know whence the deficit is to be met. The Education Act lays upon the County Council the whole expense of the maintenance of each elementary school within its area. In deliberate violation of this duty our County Council confines its liability for the maintenance of Voluntary schools solely to the grants received in respect of each school, and declines to make any contribution out of the county education rate. Under these extraordinary circumstances, I venture to take the liberty of asking your lordship, as President of the Board of Education, whether we, as managers of this school, are to continue thus indefinitely without the funds legally due to us for carrying on our school.

I have the honour to be, your lordship's obedient servant,

THOMAS PHILLIPS.

The following description of the manner in which the Merionethshire County Council is administering the Act appeared in *The Times* of December 7th:—

At a meeting of the Merionethshire County Council, Mr. W. P. Evans, the Chairman of the Education Committee, stated that his Committee had no funds to meet the bills presented by the Voluntary schools for salaries and maintenance. The Committee had invited the managers of Voluntary schools to discuss with them the question of a syllabus of religious instruction. If that could be arranged their difficulties would disappear. Mr. Evans proposed, and Mr. T. Jones seconded, "That the Council should adhere to its resolution not to levy a rate for the maintenance of non-provided schools until the schools were placed under public control and all religious tests upon teachers abolished, but that the Education Committee be instructed to pay over to the managers of non-provided schools all grants received from time to time in respect of each school." The Hon. C. H. Wynn moved as an amendment, "That an education rate be levied for the efficient maintenance of all provided and non-provided schools, as the Act of 1902 directed." He urged that they should administer the Act as required by the law, and then see if they could not come to some amicable settlement of the religious question. He regretted to think that an idea prevailed that there was a possibility of defying the law, and that the Act would only live as long as the present Government. He did not think that the law would be altered, and, if the worst came to the worst, Voluntary school managers would close their schools and use them for Sunday schools. Then a serious question would arise, as the County Councils would have to spend large sums of money in providing new schools. Mr. W. R. Wynne seconded the amendment, and upon its being put to the vote only two supported it, and the resolution was carried.

It is the plain duty of all law-respecting Londoners to The Duty
of
Londoners. take care that their great County Council shall be so composed that anything approaching to such disgraceful dereliction of its statutory duties should be impossible. But to ensure this—to ensure that elementary education shall be efficiently conducted, and the denominational schools fairly and adequately supported, it is time that the advocates of distinctive religious teaching and the pioneers of education should be up and doing. It is high time that in every Division candidates should be promptly selected, and should be enthusiastically supported, who will give a fair trial to the London Education Act.

One further word of warning is necessary. Mr. McKinnon Wood, the leader of the Progressive Party on the London County Council, has made a speech, in which he says some smooth things and utters some plausible sentiments. As the leader of the dominant municipal party in London he could

hardly have adopted a different course. This speech was made after the publication of the letter of the Bishops of London and Rochester. He would have committed an obvious and fatal error in tactics had he used the language of the Free Church leaders, and openly announced a policy of educational wreckage. But even the astute Mr. McKimmon Wood is obliged to say that his Party will administer the Act "in a Progressive spirit." He is compelled to declare that the Education Committee of the Council must be "a Committee of the Council of men chosen by the electors, answerable to them for their action and policy, and not a Committee of Delegates, or of representatives of various interests." In other words, it must have a different construction from that of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, which has done such admirable work; it must not receive the assistance of expert advice, or the precise knowledge and experience of representatives of the Voluntary schools. Its Committee, if the Progressive Party have their way, will differ essentially, and for the worse, from the Education Committee of every other County Council throughout the land, and will be planned after a model which is not that supplied and contemplated by the Education Acts. There is much, therefore, even in the policy formulated by Mr. Wood which is absolutely opposed to the best interests of education and of religious teaching. But what electors must think of in the approaching elections is not this political speech of Mr. Wood's, but of the speeches that are being made, and the pledges that are being given, by individual candidates, when they are questioned by the Free Church representatives in their own Divisions.

APPENDIX.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

It may be useful, in the first place, to point out that men of all parties are agreed as to the necessity for thorough reform of our educational system, and also as to the general excellence of the system introduced by the Acts of 1902 and 1903, so far as it is concerned with the secular side of the question.

SOME RADICAL OPINIONS.

In Wolverhampton, on October 4th, 1902, the Right Hon. Sir HENRY H. FOWLER, M.P. (Radical), said :—

“ Our present system of education was illogical, inefficient and unjust.”—*Times*, October 6, 1902.

In the *New Liberal Review* of March, 1902, Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P. (Radical), Member of the London School Board since 1894, and President of the National Union of Teachers in 1896, wrote :—

“ For certainly ‘ the co-ordination and improvement of primary and secondary education ’ are urgently needed in this country just now.”

Lord ROSEBURY, speaking at Colchester, on May 15th, 1902, said :—

“ There is a Bill now before Parliament, of the future of which I can predict nothing—as to the chances of its passing into law, I know no more than you do—but which, if passed, will entrust to your municipal council the incalculably important prerogative of supervising the education of its children. Well, on the whole, I rejoice in that provision ; because I rejoice in all that gives strength and lustre to the municipal institutions of our country, in all that raises the character of our municipalities, and which makes men of all ranks and degrees and of all abilities willing and anxious to take service among them. If to what you do already you add the task of education you will be advancing by leaps and by bounds to that lofty position which every true patriot covets for the borough authorities of his native land.”—*Times*, May 16th, 1902.

Under date of June 26th, 1902, the Right Hon. R. B. HALDANE, K.C., M.P., the Radical M.P. for Haddington, sent the following letter to a constituent :—

“ After carefully weighing the circumstances of the educational situation in England, I have formed the opinion that, if there were willingness to make its

machinery work, the system which the Education Bill now before Parliament proposes to establish could be made to produce a great advance to the existing state of things in the country. . . . Balancing the advantages of the scheme against its drawbacks, I have formed the opinion that the balance lies with the advantages and with prospects of progress in the future which are for the first time opened up. . . . I do not see any practicable alternative to some such proposal as the present. If the Liberal party were in power to-morrow they would be wrecked over any attempt to set up a universal school board system such as prevails in Scotland. What Mr. Gladstone could not do in 1870 with a great majority, the ratepayers will not let us do now. The true line, therefore, appears to me to be to go as far as possible in enlarging the powers of the county and town councils. . . .”—*Daily News*, July 1st, 1902.

In *The Nineteenth Century* for October, 1902, the Right Hon. R. B. HALDANE, K.C., M.P. (Radical) for Haddington, writes :—

“The Bill seeks to incorporate the business of educating with the general business of local government. This is surely right : right as a step towards increasing the general interest of the citizen in education ; right as a step towards devolution from Parliament of business for which Parliament is ill adapted. . . . In the interests of the public, in the interests of the Nonconformists themselves, this Bill had better pass. Let it be improved, if this be possible, if the Government can better the terms of their bargain. But above all things let it be passed. It will for the first time make a gap in the thicket which shuts us in as a nation in educational affairs, and open a practicable way for the wider and larger schemes which are essential if Great Britain is to keep her place in the general advance of the twentieth century.”

At North Berwick, on September 30th, 1902, the Right Hon. R. B. HALDANE, K.C., M.P., said :—

“What did the English Bill propose to do ? In the first part it made the education authority in every district the county council in the county, and the borough council in the borough, and it gave these bodies the control not only of the Board schools, but of the Denominational schools. The School Boards would be abolished in the sense that the functions of the School Board would be transferred to those councils. There was a good deal to be said for that. . . . Some of the outcry made against the Bill was perfectly ridiculous. It was nonsense to say that it separated taxation from representation. The whole of the money spent would be spent by the borough and county councils, and these councils, who raised the money, were popularly elected, and would be responsible to the people who elected them.”—*Scotsman*, October 1st, 1902.

In an article on the Bill in the *Daily Mail* of October 17th, 1902, Mr. SIDNEY WEBB, L.C.C. (Progressive), who was Chairman of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council from 1893 to 1898, and again in 1901-2, wrote :—

“Speaking solely from the standpoint of an educationalist, there can be no

doubt at all that this Bill will effect the greatest advance in our public education that has been made since the 1870 Act."

At a public meeting in the Heaton Chapel Reform Club, on October 16th, 1903, Mr. COURTENAY WARNER, M.P. (Radical), said :—

"The Act gave a very good system, with only one or two flaws in it."—*Manchester Courier*, October 17th, 1903.

At the opening of the new Central Board Schools at Morecambe, on November 17th, 1902, the Right Hon. Sir. J. T. HIBBERT, formerly Radical M.P. for Oldham, and a Minister under Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery, said :—

"Looking at this Bill, he could only say that he considered it the nearest step they had had in this country to national education, if it was carried out in good faith and in good spirit. . . He did not agree that the Bill handed over the education in Voluntary schools to the clergyman or to the priests. He believed that the ratepayers, through the county council and through the different authorities, would have far more power over the Voluntary schools than they had ever had in previous years."—*Morecambe Visitor*, November 19th, 1902.

At a meeting of teachers at Montacute on May 23rd, 1903, Mr. J. H. YOXALL, M.P. (Radical), Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, said :—

"The great gain which the Act gave to the country was an educational gain. . . . He claimed that people ought to combine to give the Act a fair trial and full experiment, and if that experiment was given, the outlook of education was a hopeful one. . . . Though a Liberal and Nonconformist, Mr. Yoxall believed that those persons who were refusing to pay the education rate, and who were challenging a kind of martyrdom, were pursuing an unwise policy, a wrong policy, and a policy that was bound to result in failure."—*Yeovil Leader*, May 25th, 1903.

VARIOUS OPINIONS.

At the weekly meeting of the London School Board on June 12th, 1902, the following resolution was carried by 26 to 18 votes :—

"That the School Board for London approve the policy of the Education Bill recently introduced by the Government, whereby, while preserving the present right of Voluntary schools to give denominational religious instruction, such schools are in other respects brought under the control of the same authority as other elementary schools, and will participate in the rate raised by such authority; and they ask that the same principle may be extended to London."—*Times*, June 13th, 1902.

At the annual general meeting of the County Councils Association on May 7th, 1902, at Westminster, the following resolution was adopted :—

"That, without expressing any opinion on the controversial questions raised by the Education Bill, the proposals contained in that Bill to place the control

of all education in administrative counties under local education authorities meet with the general approval of this association ; and that, as regards the administrative counties, the county councils acting through committees, a majority of whom shall be members of the council, as the educational authorities are well qualified and prepared, if so requested by Parliament, to undertake the powers and duties imposed upon those authorities by the Bill."—*Times*, May 8th, 1902.

At the conference of the National Union of Teachers at Buxton, on April 13th, 1903, Mr. H. COWARD, the new President, said :—

" He recognised that the Act contained much that was bound to make for the uplifting of education in the country as a whole, and would ultimately prove an evolutionary step towards a fair, national system of education. It was far more profitable to magnify the possibilities for good than to dwell on the defects of the Act."—*Times*, April 14th, 1903

At the annual meeting of the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, held on January 9th, 1904, at Mercers' School, London, the following resolution was adopted :—

" That this meeting welcomes the London Education Act, whereby the London County Council is constituted the sole authority for all grades of education throughout the county, and trusts that provision will be made for the due representation of secondary teachers upon the education committee about to be established."—*Times*, January 11th, 1904.

The principles of the London Act of 1903 are exactly the same as those of the Act of 1902, which are merely adapted to the special needs of London.

The local education authority will be the London County Council, which will act through an education committee. The scheme for the election of this committee must be presented to, and approved by, the Board of Education.

Sect. 17 (3) of the 1902 Act says :—" Every such scheme shall provide—

- (a) for the appointment by the council of at least a majority of the committee, and the persons so appointed shall be persons who are members of the council, unless in the case of a county the council shall otherwise determine ;
- (b) for the appointment by the council, on the nomination or recommendation where it appears desirable, of other bodies (including associations of voluntary schools), of persons of experience in education, and of persons acquainted with the needs of the various kinds of schools in the area for which the council acts ;
- (c) for the inclusion of women as well as men among the members of the committee ;

(d) for the appointment if desirable of members of School Boards existing at the time of the passing of this Act as members of the first committee."

Sect. 2 (1) of the London Bill provides as to the managers of the provided (late Board) schools:—"Every public elementary school provided by the local education authority within the area of any metropolitan borough shall have a body of managers. The number of those managers and the manner in which schools, in cases where it is desirable, should be grouped under one body of managers shall be determined by the council of each borough, after consultation with the local education authority, and subject to the approval of the Board of Education. Two thirds of every such body shall be appointed by the borough council and one-third by the local education authority; but due regard shall be had in selecting managers to **the inclusion of women in proportion of not less than one-third of the whole body of managers**, and, in the case of the first body of managers, also of members chosen from the then existing bodies of managers, and the borough council and the local education authority shall carry out any directions given by the Board of Education for the purpose of giving effect to this provision."

Of the managers of the non-provided (late Voluntary) schools the county council will appoint one-sixth, and the borough council one-sixth.

THE POSITION OF THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AND THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION.

The main principles, then, of the recent legislation are generally unchallenged so far as they affect secular education; the outcry has been directed against the treatment of the Voluntary schools and the retention in them of denominational teaching.

In the first place, it may be well to do away with the bogey of "no popular control." Over all matters connected with secular instruction the popularly elected local education authorities have absolute and complete control, and the managers, of whom two-sixths are popularly appointed, are merely the instruments for carrying out their directions. This is shown by the following provisions of the Act of 1902, which apply also to London:—

Sect. 5. "**The local education authority shall throughout their area have the powers and duties of a school board and school attendance committee under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1900, and any other Acts, including local Acts, and shall also be responsible for and have the control of all secular instruction in public elementary schools not provided by them, and school boards and school attendance committees shall be abolished.**"

Sect. 7. (1) "The local education authority shall maintain and keep efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary, and have the control of all expenditure required for that purpose, other than expenditure

for which, under this Act, provision is to be made by the managers, but in the case of a school not provided by them only so long as the following conditions and provisions are complied with:—

- (a) The managers of the school shall carry out any directions of the local education authority as to the secular instruction to be given in the school, including any directions with respect to the number and educational qualifications of the teachers to be employed for such instruction, and for the dismissal of any teacher on educational grounds, and if the managers fail to carry out any such direction the local education authority shall, in addition to their other powers, have the power themselves to carry out the direction in question as if they were the managers; but no directions given under this provision shall be such as to interfere with reasonable facilities for religious instruction during school hours;
- (b) The local education authority shall have power to inspect the school;
- (c) The consent of the local education authority shall be required to the appointment of teachers, but that consent shall not be withheld except on educational grounds; and the consent of the authority shall also be required to the dismissal of a teacher unless the dismissal be on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction in the school."

At Merthyr, on April 7th, 1903, Mr. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. (Radical), said:—

. . . Under the Education Act, county boroughs had full control of the whole educational system—primary, secondary and elementary.—*Merthyr Express* (Radical), April 11th, 1903.

We are left with the religious difficulty. How could it have been entirely avoided? In 1870, there were 8,281 Voluntary schools, with accommodation for 1,878,584 children (Cd. 1.476, p. 60). In that year Board schools were introduced by the Education Bill introduced by Mr. W. E. Forster, with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister. In passing, the attitude of the Conservative party to the Bill should be noticed.

On November 6th, 1875, Mr. FORSTER said:—

"I will give my Conservative friends—my foes who sit opposite to me—I will give them thanks, hearty thanks, for having used no party tactics in opposition to the Education Act of 1870, for if they had done so I do not believe that it would have been possible to pass it."

Mr. GEORGE DIXON, Liberal M.P. for Birmingham, made this statement on July 22nd, 1870, in the House of Commons. (We learn by this that the Liberal party had to be intimidated into supporting the Education Bill, whilst the Conservatives constantly and earnestly supported it.) Mr. Dixon said:—

"The Bill owes its success in the House mainly to two causes, which will not be forgotten in this country. The first is the almost constant and earnest support which was given to it by the (Conservative) Opposition, and the other is the statement made over and over again by the Government—a statement almost a threat—that unless their usual supporters went into the same lobby with this Bill they would risk losing the Bill and incur the condemnation of the country."—*Hansard*.

But the chief point to be noticed is, that the object of the Bill was to supplement, not to displace, the Voluntary schools. On February 17th, 1870, Mr. FORSTER said :—

"We must take care not to destroy in building up—not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one. . . . There must be . . . the utmost endeavour not to injure existing and efficient schools. . . . Our object is to complete the Voluntary system."—*Hansard*.

On June 24th, 1870, Mr. GLADSTONE said :—

"We have found in approaching this question a vast machinery in action ; and it is in our opinion almost required by justice, and by the implied pledges of the State, which have been conveyed in every form both of declaration and practice, and absolutely required by the dictates of common sense, that we should make use of this machinery. . . . If we treat those Voluntary schools as institutions either to be proscribed, or at the best only to be tolerated, limited, hemmed in, permitted to exist merely because they do exist, as things which it is not worth our while to recognise, or honour, or encourage, on what principle can we justify such a policy ? On none that I know of."—*Hansard*.

(The House thereupon rejected by 421 to 60 an amendment by Mr. Henry Richard in favour of refusing further assistance to denominational schools and proposing that religious education should be supplied by independent effort.)

On August 31st, 1902, the following Voluntary schools were on the Annual Grant List :—11,711 National or Church of England, 458 Wesleyan, 1,056 Roman Catholic, 1,043 British and other schools ; altogether, 14,268. The average attendance at the Voluntary schools was 2,545,980, and at the Board schools, 2,369,980 (Cd. 1,476, p. 7).

Vast sums have been voluntarily spent on building and maintaining these schools, with the definite object (among others) that a small amount of teaching in certain distinctive tenets of religion should be given in them as part of the daily curriculum to the children of those parents who desire them to receive it. The difficulties of the question are at once plain, and it may be immediately laid down that :—

(1) No Government could have proposed to give up the Voluntary schools as part of our system of public education. For (a) the cost of providing for the substitution of other schools would be so enormous, that the country would never submit to it ; (b) in face of the pledges given in 1870, it would have been unjusti-

fiable ; (c) a very large proportion of the nation are in favour of the Voluntary system and of the giving of distinctive religious teaching.

(2) The compulsory purchase or renting of the buildings, so as to give up the religious teaching, was out of the question. For (a) the expense would have been very great and unacceptable to the nation ; (b) such a course would be an injustice to those to whom the nation owes the existence of the Voluntary schools, since these have made sacrifices with the definite object of having distinctive religious teaching given ; (c) it would have meant the practical tearing up of many of the trust deeds under which many schools are endowed.

Denominational teaching, then, could not be done away with in the Voluntary schools ; and this, of course, involves the retention of the practice that the teachers shall believe in what they are called upon to teach. And this the Act provides for, while at the same time providing for complete control of all the secular instruction in them by the popularly elected local education authority.

In return for the right of having denominational teaching given in their schools to the children of such parents as desire them to receive it, the denominations are bound to render the services mentioned in the following clauses of the Act :—

Sect. 7 (1) “ (d) The managers of the school shall provide the school house free of any charge, except for the teachers dwelling house (if any), to the local education authority for use as a public elementary school. and shall, out of funds provided by them, keep the school house in good repair, and make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may be reasonably required by the local education authority, provided that such damage as the local authority consider to be due to fair wear and tear in the use of any room in the school house for the purpose of a public elementary school shall be made good by the local education authority ;

“ (e) The managers of the school shall, if the local education authority have no suitable accommodation in schools provided by them, allow that authority to use any room in the school house out of school hours free of charge for any educational purpose, but this obligation shall not extend to more than three days in the week.”

Sect. 7 (2) “ The managers of a school maintained but not provided by the local education authority, in respect of the use by them of the school furniture out of school hours, and the local education authority in respect of the use by them of any room in the school house out of school hours, shall be liable to make good any damage caused to the furniture or the room, as the case may be, by reason of that use (other than damage arising from fair wear and tear) and the managers shall take care that, after the use of a room in the school house by them, the room is left in a proper condition for school purposes.”

The funds provided by the managers represent voluntary contributions, and such proportion of the endowments as is left to them under the Act. It is obvious that the denominations pay, and more than pay, for the denominational teaching given. For, besides paying rates equally with every one else, they provide the buildings rent free for use as public elementary schools, keep them in structural repair, and make alterations and improvements. Take the first item only, and limit the consideration to the 11,711 National or Church of England schools. These buildings, with their sites, cannot possibly be of less rental value than £22,000,000, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.—a low percentage—would yield an annual rent of £715,000. Of course, the Church of England retains the use of the buildings on Sundays and on three week-day evenings, but, allowing for this, there is still a large surplus over the proportion of the cost which represents the time spent in giving Church of England distinctive teaching, which cannot in 1902 have been more than £180,000.

If a man persists, in face of the facts, in saying that the rates pay for denominational teaching, at least he must admit that he thus creates a great injustice to the denominationalists. If the denominational teaching is paid for out of the rates, then the denominations, besides paying their rates, which go towards the secular instruction, also contribute towards that object the money represented by the provision of buildings, their upkeep, alteration and improvement.

The statement that the State has paid for the Voluntary schools by its large and increasing grants is, at best, quite pointless. The special building grants alone have gone towards the Voluntary school buildings. The other grants have gone towards the maintenance of education in them, and are payments from the State for work done for it. If I pay a labourer to do some work for me with his own tools, and the payment for the work exceeds the price of the tools, have I paid for his tools? Neither has the State paid for the Voluntary school buildings. Moreover, that these grants have never sufficed, even for the maintenance of education in the buildings, is shown by the following figures taken from Cd. 1,476, pp. 66-70:—

INCOME OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS, FOR MAINTENANCE* ONLY, IN THE YEARS
1894-1902.

	Endowments.	Voluntary Contributions.
	£	£
National or Church of England ..	1,121,607	5,649,679
Wesleyan	5,564	178,587
Roman Catholic	24,562	770,072
British and other	208,905	748,647
	<u>£1,360,638</u>	<u>£7,346,985</u>

Total—£8,707,623.

* These figures do not include sums received for the purposes of new buildings, structural alterations, administration and inspection.

Building grants were made between 1833 and 1881; but no application for a grant was entertained unless received before the end of 1870, that is to say, before the State took any direct part in education. The Blue-book of 1902 [Cd. 1,336] shows that out of 14,294 Voluntary schools then receiving annual grants, 5,350 had received building grants—4,963 National or Church of England, 87 Roman Catholic, 110 Wesleyan and 190 British and other schools. These schools had received in all £1,505,329, of which sum London schools received £142,067 4s. 8d., and to meet those grants a sum nearly three times as great as the amount of the grant was contributed by the promoters at the time. It should also be borne in mind that some of these grants were made seventy years ago, none less than twenty-three; much of the work paid for by them has thus needed renewal since, and has been renewed by private effort only; throughout, upkeep, alterations, improvements, rebuildings, and extensions have come out of voluntary funds. The conclusion is that the State has paid about one-quarter of the *initial* cost of rather more than a third of the Voluntary school buildings.

The following quotations may be of use in reference to the religious side of the question.

In an article on "London Education," in the *Nineteenth Century*, of October, 1903, Mr. SIDNEY WEBB, L.C.C. (Progressive), who was Chairman of the Technical Education Board from 1893 to 1898, and again in 1901-2, wrote:—

"This inevitable segregation of teachers, or, as some persons choose to call it, this use of a religious test, is neither established nor increased by the Acts of 1902-3. . . . What the Acts of 1902-3 do, as regards the Voluntary schools, is neither to create nor to alter the existing diversity, nor yet to establish any new test, but, in consideration of the provision of the sites and buildings free of cost to the public, to make the salaries of the teachers, and the current expenses of education, independent of the charitable subscriber, and to charge these expenses to the public purse. Whether or not this is financially a good bargain for either party to it, we need not now discuss. Educationally, as Dr. Macnamara has consistently pointed out, it is pure gain."

What is more, so-called "religious tests" for pupil teachers are done away with in certain circumstances. The Act provides that:—

Sect. 7 (5) "In public elementary schools maintained but not provided by the local education authority, assistant teachers and pupil teachers may be appointed, if it is thought fit, without reference to religious creed and denomination, and in any case in which there are more candidates for the post of pupil teacher than there are places to be filled, the appointment *shall* be made by the local education authority, and they shall determine the respective qualifications of the candidates by examination or otherwise."

In the same article, Mr. SIDNEY WEBB says :—

“ But it is the simple fact that none of these hotly debated political questions traverses the actual work of educational administration. Neither the political nor the religious difficulty is met with in the schools themselves. Thus, if people feel strongly on these issues, it is as legislators and electors, not as educational administrators, that they must decide them.”

In the *New Liberal Review* for March, 1902, Dr. MACNAMARA, M.P. (Radical), wrote :—

“ Speak to any practical teacher, and he will at once tell you ‘ there is no religious difficulty in the schools themselves.’ That is perfectly true, because the teachers, especially those at work in the denominational schools, have always been tactful, and have eased the situation materially, in the cases of children of parents known to be actively opposed to the denomination with which the school is associated.

“ But in the great majority of cases I should say that even in the Church-schools, the religious teaching varies very little from that of the Board school, except, of course, for the fact that the teaching of the Church Catechism is invariably added. In both Board and Voluntary schools the pupil may be removed, under the ‘ Conscience Clause,’ at the request of the parent from the religious observances and daily lessons.”

THE COWPER - TEMPLE CLAUSE.

In the present discussion the Cowper-Temple clause is frequently referred to. For the purposes of reference, the text of clause 14 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, which contains the accepted suggestion (printed in italics) of the Right Hon. W. Cowper-Temple, who was a Churchman and the Liberal M.P. in 1870 for Hampshire South, is given below :—

“ MANAGEMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS BY SCHOOL BOARDS.

“ 14. Every school provided by a school board shall be conducted under the control and management of such board in accordance with the following regulations :

“ (1.) The school shall be a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act.

“ (2.) *No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.*”

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE.

What is known as the conscience clause, which is operative in both Voluntary and Board Schools, is also frequently referred to. It is contained in Section 7 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, and the following is the text :—

“(1) It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs.”

* * Both the foregoing clauses remain in force, and therefore it is not possible for *any* child to be compelled to receive *any* kind of religious instruction whatever against the wishes of his parent.

In Wolverhampton, on October 4th, 1902, the Right Hon. Sir H. H. FOWLER, M.P. (Radical), said :—

“More than half the children of England and Wales were educated in denominational schools; and to his mind it was not practical politics to assume that denominational schools could be destroyed, except at such a cost as the taxpayers of this country would not undertake. . . . The view which he, personally, held was that denominational teaching should be preserved, and so long as the denominational schools existed the teaching of the denominations for which they were founded should continue in those schools. Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, and Jews should have the right to teach to their own children their own doctrine, subject to the right of the parent to withdraw the child. . . .”
—*Times*, October 6th, 1902.

Speaking in the House of Commons on May 5th, 1902, the Right Hon. R. B. HALDANE, K.C., M.P. (Radical), said :—

“With those who objected to rate aid for Church of England schools he had not much sympathy, for they themselves had received large sums of public money for the maintenance of their own denominational training colleges and voluntary schools”—*Times* (Summary Column), May 6th, 1902.

In a letter to the *Methodist Recorder* of June 19th, 1902, the Rev. Dr. THOMAS ALLEN, an ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference, wrote :—

“The more the Education Bill is understood, the more evident it will be that it represents an honest effort to improve education over half of the country, and to be fair as between the denominationalists on the one hand and the undenominationalists on the other. In the present state of national opinion, it was absolutely impossible to get rid of the denominational system. The only course open was to modify the system, and this the Government has done.”

In the same issue, the Rev. T. E. WESTERDALE, of Wesley Chapel, City Road, London, wrote :—

“The cry about the priests capturing the Board schools is a false cry, and is doomed to fail. In the one authority that this Bill sets up, there is a governing force for public elementary education far exceeding the cumulative vote of the present School Board systems. This Bill is not a Bill for demolishing School Boards, but a Bill for converting School Boards into Public Authority Boards. It will, moreover, introduce the principle of local control into every Voluntary school of the land. It is a Bill which should be warmly welcomed, and welcomed as an effort, which promises to endow the elementary educational forces of this country with an enfranchisement of liberty and power, never offered by any previous Government.”

The provisions with regard to the erection of new schools are given below :—

Sect. 8 (1) “Where the local education authority or any other persons propose to provide a new public elementary school, they shall give public notice of their intention to do so, and the managers of any existing school, or the local education authority (where they are not themselves the persons proposing to provide the school), or any ten ratepayers in the area for which it is proposed to provide the school, may, within three months after the notice is given, appeal to the Board of Education on the ground that the proposed school is not required, or that a school provided by the local education authority, or not so provided, as the case may be, is better suited to meet the wants of the district than the school proposed to be provided, and any school built in contravention of the decision of the Board of Education on such appeal shall be treated as unnecessary.”

Sect 9. “The Board of Education shall, without unnecessary delay, determine in case of dispute whether a school is necessary or not, and in so determining, and also in deciding on any appeal as to the provision of a new school, shall have regard to the interest of secular instruction, to the wishes of parents as to the education of their children, and to the economy of the rates, but a school for the time being recognised as a public elementary school shall not be considered unnecessary in which the number of scholars in average attendance, as computed by the Board of Education, is not less than thirty.”

In a letter to the *Standard* of October 27th, 1902, G. J. D. wrote :—

“If the great outcry by Protestant Nonconformists, as to the gross injustice of allowing Church teaching to be continued in Church of England schools, were a genuine one, we should have expected that Protestant Nonconformists would, to a great extent, have availed themselves of the conscience clause, whereby, whilst making use of the secular education provided by Church schools, they are enabled to exempt their children from all, or any part, of the religious education given in those schools. How far they have done this, and how far this outcry is an honest one, may, to a great extent, be judged by a perusal of the following table, which is compiled from the Report of the Diocesan Board of Education for the year 1900 :—

CHURCH DAY SCHOOLS.

	Diocese.				Scholars on books.	Withdrawn from religious instruction.	
						Wholly.	In part.
Canterbury	67,654	121	184
York	88,051	107	189
Carlisle	40,776	45	153
London	140,647	689	1,446
Lichfield	86,581	74	36
Lincoln	41,042	79	93
Newcastle	25,374	223	168
Norwich	72,357	30	334
Peterborough (part)	55,001	95	628
Ripon (part)	20,786	22	160
Salisbury	52,334	109	739
Southwell	43,238	175	40
Winchester	77,198	123	364
Worcester	94,541	101	135
Totals	905,580	1,993	4,669

MR. T. J. MACNAMARA, M.P. (Radical), on May 6th, 1902, said :—

“ . . . He admitted the extreme difficulty and delicacy of the religious difficulty; and he complained that the leaders of the Churches, and particularly the Free Churches, never gave them anything in the way of a constructive policy. These gentlemen never seemed happy unless they were denouncing something.”—*Times*, May 7th, 1902.

The following extracts are taken from a letter from the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, published in the *Times* of December 15th, 1903 :—

“ Lambeth Palace, S.E., December 12th.

“ Allegations and imputations are now current (as my own letter-baskets daily testify), which would be simply ludicrous, but for the melancholy evidence afforded of what people can be got, by persistent reiteration, to believe. When responsible leaders deliberately state, for example, that ‘ this Bill takes the Board schools from the people and gives them, roughly speaking, to one section of the people, that is to the Anglican Church ’; or again, that ‘ the Act closes the evening schools ’; or again, that ‘ what is at stake is not education merely, not the inalienable birthright of the citizens only, but chiefly our retention of that divinest gift to us men, the right to the free, unfettered, and full use of his inmost soul,’ the difficulty of reply arises mainly from our sheer bewilderment as to how the speaker or writer has persuaded himself, as he doubtless has, that his words have some foundation in fact. One thing is certain; we must employ no such weapons as those which are wielded against us. Misrepresentation, if it be due either to culpable

ignorance on the part of the spokesman, or to the deliberate distortion of facts, would be for us without excuse. . . .

“ But this vast expenditure upon buildings is, of course, only a small part of what has been voluntarily given. Towards what is technically known as ‘ maintenance,’ many millions have been subscribed, and so far at least as the Church of England is concerned, the annual amount has shown on the whole a steady increase from year to year. The amount subscribed by the Church of England during the last year alone is £670,324. When to this is added the money subscribed every year for new school buildings, for training colleges, for annual inspection in religious knowledge, and for other kindred purposes, it is probably not too much to say that the supporters of Church schools and training colleges voluntarily expend every year about one million sterling of their own money, in addition to the gratuitous use of their buildings; and this while very many of the subscribers are paying an education rate for what have hitherto been known as Board schools. Notwithstanding this expenditure, so constant has been the improvement called for, and rightly called for, in buildings, in apparatus, and in the salaries of teachers, and so great the consequent increase in the whole cost of education, that without some re-arrangement of the incidence of the burden, it has been found practically impossible to keep the Voluntary schools in equipment and staff fully abreast of the Board schools. This is the condition of things with which any Government dealing with the education question during the last few years would have found itself face to face. Every political body and every public man has seen for several years past that the education question must be grappled with. In addition to the reports of two Royal Commissions, there have been resolutions and speeches and reports innumerable to the effect that the time for action had come. The Government of 1896 introduced a comprehensive measure. It was subjected to keen and bitter criticism, and was ultimately withdrawn. A general election intervened, and last year the Government, with these various resolutions, speeches and reports before it, set its hand again to the task.

“ From the fact that certain provisions in the Government Bill corresponded with some of the suggestions which had been made by a joint meeting of the Convocations of the Church of England as to what might be fair and reasonable arrangements for dealing with the schools belonging to denominational bodies, whether Church of England, Nonconformists, or Roman Catholic, it has been strangely and persistently argued, or rather asserted, that the Bill was the outcome of a private arrangement between the Bishops of the Church of England and the Government of the day. This suggestion, it cannot be too often or too emphatically stated, is absolutely without foundation. No single Bishop, to the best of my belief, knew the contents of the Bill until it was completed and printed and was about to be introduced.

“ We are constantly told—so constantly that it is coming to be widely believed—that the Bill imposes sectarian tests upon many thousands of teachers.’ As a

matter of fact it, of course, imposes no test whatever. Teachers stand, in this matter, exactly where they stood before. The Act recognises the enormous advantage, financial and other, which the State gains from the gratuitous use of privately-owned buildings, the value of which is estimated at the very least at £22,000,000. It permits the managers of such schools to retain (subject to an approving power lodged with the local authority) the right they previously possessed of selecting from among the teachers accredited by the State as qualified those whom these managers think best fitted to give the teaching, religious and secular, which the circumstances of the school require. But a popularly elected element is now added to every managing body, and in my own judgment this addition is in every sense a gain. If it be said that the denominational teaching which, under the control of these managers, may still be given, is paid for out of the rates, the answer is, of course, obvious, that the value of the buildings greatly outweighs the cost of the denominational teaching, which is therefore practically paid for by the denomination to which the buildings belong. . .

“The formal publication of this scheme clears the air. We know now definitely what we have to face. We Churchmen have inherited a great trust in the possession of schools, the trust-deeds of which provide especially that religious instruction must (not may) be given, and in the management of these schools we take the responsibility of inquiring carefully, before a teacher is appointed, whether he or she is duly qualified to instruct little children in the elements of the Christian faith as taught in Holy Scripture. Whatever may be possible in the great town schools, where teachers are numerous, I can myself conceive no graver responsibility than that of appointing, in a little rural school, the one teacher who is to give religious instruction to the children, but whose qualification to give it we should be forbidden to ascertain.

“Upon these points Churchmen, as it seems to me, must stand firm. If our trust-deeds, which absolutely secure religious teaching, are to be torn up, it must not be done with our consent.

“In the case of schools belonging to the Church of England, these trust-deeds provide, with absolute reasonableness, that the religious teaching given shall be upon the lines laid down in the formularies of the Church, and in all except the merest handful of cases (in which some foolish man has said or done foolish or unfair things), this teaching—subject always to the use of the conscience clause—has proved perfectly satisfactory to the parents of successive generations of children. But with a view to removing any possible difficulty which may arise on this point in ‘single school areas,’ we are encouraging the appointment in all large schools of one or more Nonconformists among the assistant teachers, and the publication of a detailed time-table of religious teaching, parents having power to withdraw their children from denominational instruction to receive simple Scripture teaching instead. Upon all such points we are more than ready to meet legitimate Nonconformist wishes. . .

“ . . . It appears to show that there is now nothing for it but that we should meet by definite resistance the attack to which I have, in the outset of this letter, referred.

“ We believe that the new legislation, while certainly capable of amendment in detail, is sound and fair in principle, and that under it the whole education of the country will be brought for the first time into line, and will be steadily improved. Therefore we support it, and resolve to persevere in its defence.

“ Take care that the Act, as it stands, is really understood. Make its provisions plain to everybody. It imposes no test upon teachers. In all provided schools every appointment is absolutely open. In denominational schools it reserves only head teacherships to the denomination. Let a clear knowledge of these facts, and of others like them, be brought home in every parish.

“ The National Society can furnish all the necessary information, and the Church Committee, over which you preside, has the machinery ready to hand for making the knowledge effective. In the county council elections, which are shortly to take place, we must perforce take pains to secure that the men returned—the men, that is, who are to administer our education system—are men who understand the subject and mean to deal with it fairly. We are bound further to secure, so far as in us lies, that the electors know what they are doing. The forces of those who are opposing the principles for which we contend have been organised with elaboration of an unusual kind. Corresponding activity is needed on the part of those who care for securing, not as a possibility but as a certainty, the maintenance of religious education in our elementary schools. The introduction of a religious question into the electoral conflict is forced upon us unsought. While abstaining from every unkindly word or unfair imputation against those who differ from us, we are bound to rally our forces and to stand firm.

“ I remain, yours very truly,

“ RANDALL CANTUAR.”

THE COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS AND THE LONDON EDUCATION ACT.

“ Sir,—We deem it our duty to address some words of counsel and direction to our fellow Churchmen in view of the approaching election to the London County Council and the very serious issues involved in it.

“ London has now before it, under the Act of 1903, a splendid opportunity for a great and united step forward in the education of its children and younger citizens. It will rest with an educational authority, appointed by the new County Council, to carry out the long-desired and long-delayed task of working into one scheme the different forms and grades of education from the base upwards to the University, thus co-ordinating and developing the whole system of secondary as well as primary education, including existing schools and institutions.

"Nothing should be allowed to interfere with the immediate and impartial exercise of these great powers.

"These circumstances lend very special importance to the forthcoming elections to the County Council. London must elect a Council worthy of the opportunity.

"But the importance of this educational issue, though it may affect greatly things which we hold very sacred, and some of our most valuable work, would not be sufficient of itself to induce us, as leaders of the Church, to intervene. It would be enough for Churchmen that the new authorities to whom the Legislature has committed the control of public education should be comprised of citizens to whom we may look to deal with the matter reasonably and fairly, as with any other business of public importance. We do not think that the best County Council is formed by any large infusion of the representatives of special questions or special interests, our own or other.

"But at the present time we cannot disguise from ourselves that circumstances demand from us, in self-defence, some more direct action than usual. We are in the presence of an organised campaign, carried on by those who have shown an uncompromising and bitter hostility alike to our schools, and to the permission within the limits of the State system of any security for teaching the great verities of the Christian faith. The attack has been commenced and is to be frankly and openly carried out by a strong effort, worked with all the political efficiency of a compact organisation. Pledges will be demanded from candidates which would effectually hinder them as members from working the Education Act impartially, and dealing justly with the different classes of schools committed to them.

"Churchmen will be very greatly to blame if they are indifferent or inactive in face of such an attempt. To meet it we do not recommend the policy of identifying the Church with either political party; nor (for the reasons already given) that of bringing forward independent or 'specialist' candidates; though in particular localities, or for particular reasons, some adoption of either of these methods may be desirable.

"But we would urge that Churchmen of all shades of politics should throw their strength, first, into securing that in the choice of candidates by both parties men should be selected who, whatever their own views upon educational matters or upon the merits of the Act, will be ready to work it impartially and to do justice to all the interests concerned; and, secondly, that candidates on both sides shall be pressed to declare that they will not hamper themselves by pledges which commit them to a destructive policy with regard to denominational schools and teaching, and that they will fairly and impartially administer the Act. We may be able to find ourselves in hearty co-operation with many who, though not in accord with us on religious matters, see the great educational opportunities offered by the Act, and desire, as we do, that the use of these may not be prevented or postponed for partisan and sectarian reasons.

"We have appointed a small central joint committee to carry out this policy of defence, and we hope that in every district (the electoral areas being preferred to rural deaneries) a committee will be formed to co-operate with it to decide upon the particular steps best suited to each locality, and to take measures for informing the electorate upon the issues, and for removing prevalent and widely-circulated misconceptions.

"Such committees should urge upon all Churchmen the duty of voting, and the necessity upon this occasion of giving special importance to the educational issue.

"We press this matter strongly upon our fellow Churchmen, and look for their cordial and active co-operation, begun promptly from the present time. But we cannot end without expressing the very great regret with which we take a course which brings us even defensively into active collision with large bodies, though by no means the whole of Nonconformist feeling and conviction, and we watch eagerly for the time when we may be able to find in this great and vital matter of religious education an opportunity for some of that co-operation which we enjoy on other questions.

"A. F. LONDON.

"EDW. ROFFEN."

—*Times*, December 16th, 1903.

COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS: APPEAL TO CHURCHMEN.

"Sir,—I append a copy of the questions which have been drawn up by the Central Committee appointed by the Bishops of London and Rochester, and which will be addressed to all candidates at the forthcoming London County Council election. I trust that in view of the importance of the subject you will allow me as Chairman of the Committee to say a few words in explanation of them. Their object is very simple. We have no wish to raise questions of general educational policy. We have no wish to examine the views of others or to press our own with regard to the wisdom or finality of the provisions of the Education Act. We have no wish to discuss possible amendments. These are legislative, not administrative questions. It is open to every citizen and party to influence the legislature in any legitimate way. The province of the County Council is to administer, not to legislate; and we wish to keep our questions strictly within that province of administration.

"1. We ask them, first, that candidates should pledge themselves to the adoption of the Act for London without delay. We ask this in the interests not only of our own schools but of education generally. It appears to be forgotten in current controversies that this Act is mainly concerned not with the position of voluntary schools, but with the control of all elementary schools by one authority and with the co-ordination of all grades of education under one supervision. These are advantages, indeed necessities, for London education which everyone interested

in the question has long and eagerly desired. We cannot afford to let them wait on the shifts and chances of the political situation, or postpone them until the friends and foes of one class of school have settled their differences. There is the greater need of urgency because the present uncertainty must mean a temporary paralysis of educational activity. The board schools, the voluntary schools, the secondary schools cannot continue the good work which within their respective spheres they have done unless they know what their future position is to be. A policy of delay would be a policy of drift, and drifting in educational matters means disaster.

"2. We ask, secondly, that candidates should pledge themselves to administer the Act with fairness to all classes of schools, and particularly to the 'non-provided' schools. Fairness at the outset will surely mean that schools at present on the grant list of the Board of Education shall be assumed to be efficient and entitled to the recognition of the new authority until they are proved to be inefficient. Fairness will surely not mean that schools, merely because they are 'non-provided,' shall be assumed to be inefficient until they have been proved by some special inspection to be efficient. It would be unfair to leave existing schools after the adoption of the Act under the paralysing anxiety of having to meet the current expenses of maintenance without knowing whether they can or cannot depend on the assistance which the Act provides. Of course, the new authority will have the right and the duty to inspect the schools and to order reasonable alterations. But let this be done not arbitrarily before the schools are recognised at all, but calmly and impartially after knowledge has been gained of the whole area of school provision. And when such reasonable orders have been made let fair time be given to the managers of the schools to carry them out. We submit, therefore, that our third question is only an instance of what fair administration at the outset ought to mean.

"I am well aware of the obvious reply which may be made to these remarks. It is that the Progressive party has already through its leaders declared its intention to adopt the Act, and to administer it impartially; that a similar intention on the part of the Moderate party may be presumed; and that, therefore, there is no occasion for the interference of the Church in a municipal contest. But (1) mere general declarations are easily evaded. Their value is tested by specific instances. Our questions afford Progressive candidates an opportunity of proving the real meaning and the genuineness of their assent to the general declaration of their party. (2) We cannot forget that there already exists a determined and energetic organisation pledged to the policy adopted by the Free Church Council. It will certainly spare no efforts to induce candidates to accept the particular conceptions of justice and impartiality which are put forward in the resolutions and questions of the Free Church Council. It is impossible for Churchmen to stand idly by without organisation or the possibility of concerted action, and to leave the field open to the persistent influence of those who have shown such an implacable bias against Voluntary schools.

" If any candidate, whether Progressive or Moderate, is willing to give the very moderate assurances asked for in our questions, if he loyally stands by them in the course of the contest, if he proves by his utterances that he does not approach the administration of this Act with a prejudice against Voluntary schools so strong that it must be held to colour his professions of impartiality, then Churchmen will be free to vote for him on the general ground of his fitness for the work of the London County Council. If, on the other hand, candidates fail to give or to hold by such assurances, Churchmen must be prepared to vote against them even at the cost of waiving for the present election their usual political and municipal sympathies. The issues of the forthcoming election are unique: they will not be presented twice.

" We venture to hope that in this contest the friends of Voluntary schools, and those of whatever Church or party who are simply anxious that a great opportunity of educational advance in London should not be lost, will be found working side by side.

" Yours, &c.,

" C. G. STEPNEY.

" 2, Amen Court, St. Paul's, January 16th.

" QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES.

" The following are the questions to be addressed to candidates at the London County Council election :

" 1. Will you do your utmost to promote a vigorous and efficient administration of the Act in regard to all grades of education ?

" 2. Will you, if elected, vote against any proposals either to delay the adoption of the Act or to adopt it subject to conditions or limitations other than those which are contained in the Act itself ?

" 3. (a) Will you be prepared to recognise all public elementary schools now on the annual grant list of the Board of Education as equally entitled to maintenance out of the rate-aid provided by the Act ?

" (b) Will you insist that fair time shall be allowed to non-provided schools to carry out such alterations and improvements as may be reasonably required by the local education authority, under Section 7 of the Education Act, 1902 ?

" 4. Will you be prepared to give assistance, under the provisions of the Act, to all educational institutions, higher as well as elementary, without regard to the question of their denominational or undenominational character ?"

— *Morning Post*, January 18th, 1904.

FOREIGN CONTRACTS.

The election of the first London County Council in 1889, was followed by the immediate consideration of the conditions of labour among those employed both by the Council itself and by contractors working for the Council.

On March 12th, 1889, a resolution was carried, requiring all contractors to declare that they paid such rates of wages and observed such hours of labour as were generally accepted as fair in their trade. At various times, these labour regulations were extended and strengthened; sub-contracting and sub-letting abolished, except for work that contractors could not do in an ordinary manner; a maximum week of 54 hours established; no man to work more than six days; overtime abolished, &c., &c.

At the present moment, the Council's labour regulations as regards contracts may be summarised as follows:—

In all contracts for the supply of raw materials or manufactured articles, a clause shall, whenever practicable, be inserted that the contractor, as regards work within 20 miles of Charing Cross, will (1) pay and observe the rates of wages and hours of labour in the Council's list; (2) With regard to any trade not in that list, the rates of pay shall not be less, nor the hours of labour more than those recognised by associations of employers and trades unions and in practice obtained in the district; (3) Where the work is done beyond a radius of 20 miles from Charing Cross, the contractor shall pay the rates of wages and observe the hours of labour recognised by associations of employers and trade unions and in practice obtained.

As regards sub-contracting, this is prohibited by the Council unless consent is given. In granting such consent the Council requires the contractor to enter into an agreement which will secure the observance of the following conditions :—

Sub-
Contracts.
Labour
conditions

That there shall be inserted in the contract a covenant by the sub-contractor that he will pay all workmen employed by him, in or about the execution of such sub-contract, rates of wages not less, and observe and cause to be observed by such workmen, hours of labour not more than the rates of wages and hours of labour as are inserted in the schedule to the original contract as applicable to work within 20 miles of Charing Cross. As regards other work, such rates of wages and hours of labour are to be paid and observed as are recognised by associations of employers and trade unions and in practice obtained in the several districts where the work is done.

Rigid penalties are inflicted for breaches of these rules, and—

The schedule of wages is to be kept posted in every factory, &c., used by the sub-contractor, who shall also, when required, produce to the officials of the Council his time and wages books and sheets.—(L.C.C. Standing Orders.)

It should be noted that when these regulations were drawn up it was not contemplated that contracts might be given abroad. And, therefore, these onerous conditions cannot be enforced upon a foreign contractor.

The intention of these labour regulations is to prevent sweating, and to secure the strict observance of the principle that the London County Council—in common with other public bodies—should show itself to be among the best employers of labour in the country. The keynote of the Council's policy is to secure good conditions for labour—to be a model employer.

This policy was a just one so long as it applied to contracts in the United Kingdom.

BELGIAN CONTRACTS.

However, beginning with the purchase of Belgian girders in 1895, there has gradually grown up a practice of allowing

contracts to go abroad. On March 4th, 1902, and January 20th, 1903, this practice was challenged by the Conservative and some Labour members of the Council, upon reports of the Highways Committee recommending the purchase of Belgian rails, &c., for the South London tramways.

The following Progressives were members of the Highways Committee when these foreign contracts were recommended :—

Baker, J. A. (E. Finsbury).	Parker, R. (Walworth).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Phillimore, R. C. (Deptford).
Browne, E. (S. Hackney).	Waterlow, D. S. (N. St. Pancras).
Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood).	Wiles, T. (S.W. Bethnal Green).
Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).	Wood, T. McKinnon (Cen. Hackney).
Mayhew, Mark (Wandsworth).	

The following are the facts as stated in the minutes of the Council (1902, pages 237, 305 ; 1903, page 45) :—

REPORT OF THE HIGHWAYS COMMITTEE.

13th February, 1902.

The London County Council Tramways.

Reconstruction, for electrical traction of further portions. Tender for the supply of rails, &c.

1. We have considered the tenders (referred by the Council on 28th January, 1902) for the supply of about 3,250 tons of track rails, 1,850 tons of slot rails, 670 tons of conductor rails, 125 tons of fish plates, 155 tons of sole plates, together with the bolts and nuts and other accessories, required in connection with the reconstruction, for electrical traction, of further portions of the London County Council Tramways. The tenders were as follows :—

Name of firm tendering.	Place of manufacture.	Amount of tender.
		£ s. d.
P. & W. Maclellan, Ltd., .. Glasgow.	Societe Anonyme des Acieries .. D'Angleur, Tilleur by Liege, Belgium.	41,709 10 10 or with special lock nuts. 41,742 4 4
Bolling & Low, London . ..	Phœnix Works, Ruhrort, .. Westphalia, Germany.	42,897 10 0
Edward Le Bas & Co., .. London.	Ougree Works, Belgium. ..	42,935 0 0
P. & W. Maclellan, Ltd., .. Glasgow.	Barrow Haematite Company's .. Works.	50,463 15 0
Bolckow, Vaughan & Co., .. London.	At the Company's Works. ..	51,188 8 9
Walter Scott, Ltd., Leeds. ..	Leeds Steel Works. ..	52,587 10 0
J. F. J. Peeters & Sons, .. London.	At the Firm's Works (appar- .. ently).	58,381 5 0

.....We recommend:—

(A) That, subject to the result of the usual inquiries proving satisfactory, the tender of Messrs. P. & W. Maclellan, Ltd., be accepted for the supply, for the sum of £41,742 4s. 4d., of the track rails, slot rails, conductor rails, fish plates, sole plates, bolts, nuts and other accessories, required in connection with the reconstruction, for electrical traction, of a further portion of the London County Council Tramways; that the solicitor do prepare, and secure the completion of, a contract to give effect to the tender; and that the seal of the Council be affixed to such contract when ready.

(B) That Messrs. P. & W. Maclellan, Ltd., be allowed to sub-let to the Societe Anonyme des Acieries D'Angleur, the manufacture of the track rails, slot rails, and conductor rails, &c., to be supplied under the contract; that the solicitor do prepare the agreement prescribed by the Council's Standing Order relative to sub-letting; and that the seal of the Council be affixed to such agreement when ready.

The Council considered and adopted the above recommendations on March 4th, in spite of the opposition of the Conservative and a few Labour members. The difference in price between the accepted foreign tender and the lowest British tender was £8,721.

On January 20, 1903, another report of the same Committee reported a further purchase of Belgian rails, as follows:—

Reconstruction, for electrical traction, of New Cross and Greenwich, &c., section, and small section in the Borough of the London County Council Tramways.

Supply of Rails, &c. Capital expenditure, £33,876 19s. 8d.

(1.) The Council, on 9th and 16th December, decided to invite tenders by public advertisement for the supply of the following quantities of rails, &c., required in connection with the above-named work:—track rails, 2,775 tons; slot rails, 1,470 tons; conductor tees, 705 tons; together with the necessary sole plates, fish plates, and bolts and nuts. As it was important that the necessary arrangements for the supply of the rails, &c., should be made with as little delay as possible, the Council authorised us to open the tenders during the Christmas recess, and to accept that which, in our opinion, might be the most advantageous to the Council. Ten tenders, as follow, were received in response to the advertisement:—

Name of firm tendering.	Amount of tender.
	£ s. d.
Messrs. E. Le Bas & Co., London	30,060 5 0
Mr. Edward Lomer, London	31,079 15 0
Messrs. Alex. Penney & Co., London	33,303 11 0
„ P. & W. Maclellan, Ltd., Glasgow ..	33,876 19 8

Name of firm tendering.	Amount of tender.		
	£	s.	d.
Messrs. Witting Brothers, Ltd., London ..	35,512	18	0
„ J. H. Austin & Co., London ..	36,546	9	0
„ Steel, Peech & Tozer, Ltd., Sheffield..	37,431	19	0
„ Walter Scott, Ltd., Leeds ..	41,483	10	0
„ Bolekow, Vaughan & Co., Ltd., London	43,558	0	0

. . . In all these circumstances, we consider that the tender of Messrs. Maclellan & Co. was the most advantageous, and we have, acting under the authority given to us, accepted it on behalf of the Council, and have given the necessary instructions for the preparation and execution of a contract to give effect thereto. Messrs. Maclellan propose to obtain the bolts and nuts from Messrs. Ibbotson & Brothers, of Sheffield, while the rails, &c., will be obtained from the Societe Anonyme des Acieries d'Angleur, Belgium, who are the sub-contractors under the present contract, and we have given the necessary permission for that course to be adopted, and have instructed the solicitor to prepare and obtain the execution of the agreement prescribed by the standing order of the Council relative to sub-letting.

CONSERVATIVE AND LABOUR OPPOSITION.

As has been said, these two purchases of Belgian rails, &c., to the value of £75,000, met with considerable opposition from the Conservative and some Labour Councillors. The grounds of opposition were (A) that the labour conditions inserted in the Council's contracts did not apply to foreign contracts, and that those conditions could not be enforced abroad ; (B) that the rails are produced in Belgium by sweated labour ; (c) that it was most unjust to the British manufacturer and to the British workman to impose upon them restrictive regulations as regards labour ; to thus increase the cost of production ; and then to give the work to foreign contractors who employ cheap labour ; (D) that there were no associations of employers or trades unions at Liege who could fix wages and hours of labour.

On the first occasion (March 4th, 1902) an amendment was moved by Mr. Steadman (Labour) that the recommendation be referred back to the Committee. This was seconded by Mr. Gaskell (Conservative). After debate the amendment

was put and declared to be lost. The majority consisted of the Progressive party, and the minority of 20 Conservatives and a few Labour members.

The following Progressives were present at this meeting of the Council (L.C.C. Minutes):—

Allen, A. A. (Bermondsey).	Hunter, T. (W. Southwark).
Arnold, Sir Arthur (Alderman).	Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich).
Austin, Edwin (Hoxton).	Jephson, H. (N. Kensington).
Baker, J. A. (E. Finsbury).	Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).
Bawn, W. B. (Limehouse).	Lampard, G. (N. Hackney).
Bayley, E. (W. Southwark).	Laughland, J. (E. Islington).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Lawson, H. L. W. (Whitechapel).
Benson, J. (E. Finsbury).	Lawson, Peter (Fulham).
Blackwood, J. W. (N. Paddington).	Leon, A. L. (Limehouse).
Blake, W. F. (Alderman).	Lewis, J. (W. Marylebone).
Bowerman, C. W. (Alderman).	Macdonald, J. R. (Cen. Finsbury).
Branch, J. (S.W. Bethnal Green).	Mayhew, Mark (Wandsworth).
Browne, E. (S. Hackney).	Monkswell, Lord (Haggerston).
Bruce, W. W. (Bow and Bromley).	Mullins, W. E. (Hampstead).
Carrington, Earl (W. St. Pancras).	Napier, T. B. (N. Islington).
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham).	Organ, T. A. (E. St. Pancras).
Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham).	Parker, R. (Walworth).
Collins, S. (Kennington).	Parkinson, W. C. (N. Islington).
Collins, W. J. (W. St. Pancras).	Phillimore, R. C. (Deptford).
Cooper, B. (Bow and Bromley).	Piggott, John (W. Newington).
Cooper, G. J. (Bermondsey).	Pomeroy, Ambrose (Rotherhithe).
Cornwall, E. A. (N.E. Bethnal Green).	Pope, W. (N. Kensington).
Crooks, W. (Poplar).	Radford, G. H. (W. Islington).
Davies, T. (Fulham).	Robinson, N. (E. St. Pancras).
Davies, W. (Battersea).	Seager, J. Renwick (Mile End).
Dew, G. (Alderman).	Sears, J. E. (N. Hackney).
Dickinson, W. H. (Alderman).	Sharp, L. (Brixton).
Dolman, F. (Brixton).	Sheffield, Lt.-Col. F. (S. St. Pancras).
Glanville, H. J. (Rotherhithe).	Shepherd, A. J. (Cen. Hackney).
Goodman, W. (W. Islington).	Shrubsall, G. (Norwood).
Gosling, H. (Alderman).	Smith, Alfred (S. Hackney).
Hardy, G. A. (Dulwich).	Smith, Edward (N.E. Bethnal Green).
Hemphill, Capt. F. (Cen. Finsbury).	Smith, J. (St. George-in-the-East).
Horniman, E. J. (Chelsea).	Somerset, H. Somers (S. St. Pancras).
Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood).	Spicer, Evan (Alderman).
	Spokes, R. (Walworth).

Steadman, W. C. (Stepney).	Welby, Lord (Alderman).
Strauss, B. S. (Mile End).	West, Rt. Hon. Sir A. E. (Alderman).
Strong, R. (N. Camberwell).	Wightman, W. (N. Lambeth).
Stuart, J. (Haggerston).	Wilberforce, H. W. W. (N. St. Pancras).
Taylor, H. R. (N. Camberwell).	Wiles, T. (S.W. Bethnal Green).
Tweedmouth, Lord (Alderman).	Williams, Rev. C. Fleming (Alderman).
Verney, F. W. (Peckham).	Williams, Howell J. (S. Islington).
Ward, H. (Hoxton).	Williams, R. (N. Lambeth).
Warmington, F. W. (Greenwich).	Wood, T. McKinnon (Cen. Hackney)
Webb, Sidney (Deptford).	Yates, W. B. (Alderman).

On the second occasion (January 20th, 1903) an amendment was moved by Mr. Steadman (Labour), seconded by Mr. Ratcliffe Cousins (Conservative), that the report be received with the exception of paragraph No. 1. After debate the amendment was lost; the majority again consisted of 41 Progressives, and the minority of 15 Conservatives with a few Labour members.

The following Progressives were present on this second occasion (L.C.C. Minutes):—

Allen, A. A. (Bermondsey).	Davies, T. (Fulham).
Austin, Edwin (Hoxton).	Davies, W. (Battersea).
Baker, J. A. (E. Finsbury).	Dew, G. (Alderman).
Bayley, E. (W. Southwark).	Dickinson, W. H. (Alderman).
Benn, J. W. (Kennington).	Dolman, F. (Brixton).
Blake, W. F. (Alderman).	Gilbert, J. D. (W. Newington).
Bowerman, C. W. (Alderman).	Glanville, H. J. (Rotherhithe).
Branch, J. (S.W. Bethnal Green).	Goodman, W. (W. Islington).
Browne, E. (S. Hackney)	Gosling, H. (Alderman).
Bruce, W. W. (Bow and Bromley).	Hardy, G. A. (Dulwich).
Carrington, Earl (W. St. Pancras).	Hemphill, Capt. F. (Cen. Finsbury)
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham).	Horniman, E. J. (Chelsea).
Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham).	Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood).
Collins, S. (Kennington).	Hunter, T. (W. Southwark)
Collins, Sir W. J. (W. St. Pancras).	Idris, T. H. W. (S. St. Pancras).
Cooper, B. (Bow and Bromley).	Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich).
Cooper, G. J. (Bermondsey).	Jeffery, J. (Chelsea).
Cornwall, E. A. (N.E. Bethnal Green).	Jephson, H. (N. Kensington).
Crooks, W. (Poplar).	Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel).
	Lampard, G. (N. Hackney).

Laughland, J. (E. Islington).
 Lawson, H. L. W. (Whitechapel).
 Lawson, Peter (Fulham).
 Leon, A. L. (Limehouse).
 Lewis, J. (W. Marylebone).
 Maedonald, J. R. (Cen. Finsbury).
 Mayhew, Mark (Wandsworth).
 Mullins, W. E. (Hampstead).
 Napier, T. B. (N. Islington).
 Parker, R. (Walworth).
 Parkinson, W. C. (N. Islington).
 Piggott, John (W. Newington).
 Pomeroy, Ambrose (Rotherhithe).
 Pope, W. (N. Kensington).
 Radford, G. H. (W. Islington).
 Russell, Earl (Alderman).
 Sandhurst, Lord (Alderman).
 Sears, J. E. (N. Hackney).
 Sharp, L. (Brixton).
 Sheffield, Lt.-Col. F. (S. St. Pancras).
 Shrubsall, G. (Norwood).

Smith, Alfred (S. Hackney).
 Smith, J. (St. George-in-the-East).
 Spieer, Evan (Alderman).
 Spokes, R. (Walworth).
 Steadman, W. C. (Stepney).
 Strauss, B. S. (Mile End).
 Strong, R. (N. Camberwell).
 Stuart, J. (Haggerston).
 Taylor, H. R. (N. Camberwell).
 Torrance, A. M. (E. Islington).
 Verney, F. W. (Peckham).
 Warmington, F. W. (Greenwich).
 Waterlow, D. S. (N. St. Pancras).
 Webb, Sidney (Deptford).
 West, Rt. Hon. Sir A. E. (Alderman).
 Wightman, W. (Lambeth).
 Wiles, T. (S.W. Bethnal Green).
 Williams, Rev. C. Fleming (Alderman).
 Williams, Howell J. (S. Islington).
 Wood, T. McKinnon (Cen. Hackney).
 Yates, W. B. (Alderman).

CONSERVATIVES MOVE FOR INQUIRY.

On December 8th, 1903, Lt.-Col. Rotton and Mr. Penn Gaskell (Conservatives) moved the following resolution:—

That it be referred to the Highways Committee to ascertain and report to **Inquiry.** the Council (A) the number of hours of labour per week worked by the men employed by the Belgian firm in making rails for London tramways, and (B) the rate of wages per hour paid to such men, and if they do any work on Sundays in connection with the manufacture of such rails.

To this, Mr. McKinnon Wood (Progressive) moved an amendment in the following terms:—

That it be referred to the Highways Committee to ascertain and report to the Council (A) the number of hours of labour per week worked by the men employed in foreign firms in making rails for the Government, provincial corporations, London tramways and railways; (B) the rate of wages per hour paid to such men, and if they do any work on Sundays in connection with the manufacture of such rails; and (C) the amount of mining royalties paid by foreign firms as compared with those paid in Great Britain. **Progressive ob-**
struction.

The intention of the amendment, which was carried, was to so extend and delay the inquiry as to smother the point in question.

On December 22nd, 1903, it was resolved that an expenditure not exceeding £150 be authorised for the purpose of the above inquiry.

PROGRESSIVE POLICY DEFEATED.

On the same date, the Highways Committee presented a report stating that they had—

Considered the tenders for the supply of about 12,500 tons of rails, fastenings, conductor-tees, &c., required in connection with the reconstruction of certain portions of the Council's existing tramways north and south of the Thames, and the construction of certain authorised lines.

The specification for these materials was divided into two parts, relating respectively to (1) track rails and fastenings, and (2) slot rails and conductor-tees. Fourteen tenders were received for the supply of track rails and fastenings, particulars of which are as follows—

I.—Track rails, &c.						
Name of firm tendering.	Amount of tender.			Remarks.		
	£	s.	d.			
1. Charles Frere, Jun., Brussels	40,418	13	6	..	Basic steel tendered for.	
2. P. and W. Maclellan, Limited, Glasgow	41,531	17	10	..	Basic Bessemer steel.	
3. A. Penney and Co., London	42,065	19	0	..	Do.	do.
4. Bolling and Lowe, London ..	42,414	8	2		Do.	do.
5. M. Korten, London	43,250	0	6	..	Do.	do.
6. J. G. White and Co., Limited, London	43,353	1	0	..	Do.	do.
7. The Lorain Steel Company, U.S. America	43,389	3	0	..	Will not accept penalty for delay in delivery.	
8. Bolckow, Vaughan and Co., Limited, London	43,748	9	0	..	Acid steel tendered for.	
9. P. and W. Maclellan, Limited, Glasgow	44,501	14	2	..	Basic Bessemer steel.	
10. Walter Scott, Limited, Leeds	47,685	5	0	..	Do.	do.
11. Barrow Haematite Steel Company, Limited, London	48,146	8	0	..	Acid steel.	

Name of firm tendering.	Amount of tender.	Remarks.
	£ s. d.	
12. P. and W. Maclellan, Limited, Glasgow	48,899 13 2 ..	Acid steel
13. Steel, Peech and Tozer, Limited, Sheffield	49,825 0 0 ..	Do. do.
14. Jacobs Brothers and Co., London	50,707 6 0 ..	Bessemer acid or basic steel at their option.

Sixteen tenders were received for the supply of the slot rails and conductor-tees, of which the following are the particulars—

II.—Slot rails, &c.

	£ s. d.	
1. The Lorain Steel Company, U.S. America	33,979 0 0 ..	Will not accept penalty for delay in delivery.
2. P. and W. Maclellan, Limited, Glasgow	34,067 12 6 ..	Basic Bessemer steel ten- dered for.
3. J. G. White and Co., Limited, London	34,649 10 0 ..	Acid steel tendered for.
4. Bolling and Lowe, London ..	34,896 19 2 ..	Basic Bessemer steel.
5. Pennsylvania and Maryland Steel Company, U.S. America	35,958 10 0 ..	Delivery in quantities given as far as ship- ments by steamer allow
6. Frodingham Iron and Steel Company, Limited, Doncaster	36,461 15 0 ..	Acid steel.
7. Bolekow, Vaughan and Co., Limited, London	36,871 12 6 ..	Do. do.
8. Steel, Peech and Tozer, Limited, Sheffield	36,923 0 0 ..	Do. do.
9. A. Penney and Co., London	37,035 0 0 ..	Basic Bessemer steel.
10. Charles Frere, Jun., Brussels	38,013 5 0 ..	Do. do.
11. M. Korten, London	40,297 17 6 ..	Do. do.
12. Walter Scott, Limited, Leeds	44,673 5 0 ..	Do. do.
13. Barrow Haematite Steel Com- pany, London	47,748 10 0 ..	Acid steel.
14. P. and W. Maclellan, Limited, Glasgow	48,284 4 2 ..	Do. do.
15. Jacobs Brothers and Co., London	48,500 0 0 ..	—
16. Earl of Dudley's Round Oak Works, Limited, Brierley-hill	49,755 0 0 ..	Acid steel.

The tenders have been carefully examined by the engineer, who has advised us that as regards the supply of track rails, that of Messrs. Bolekow, Vaughan and Co., Limited, amounting to £43,748 9s., should be accepted. **The six lowest tenders for the supply of the track rails provide for the use of basic steel, while the specification issued required that the rails to be supplied should be made of acid steel. We were advised by the chief engineer that as the rails which have hitherto been supplied have been made of basic steel, it was important that, in order that a fair comparison might be made of the relative life of rails made of these two forms**

of steel, it was desirable that the rails now required should be made of acid steel. The next tender, that of the Lorain Steel Company, of America, cannot be considered, as the company is unwilling to accept the clause with reference to the incurring of penalties in the event of non-delivery within the time specified. In the circumstances, we are of opinion that the tender of Messrs. Bolekow, Vaughan and Co. should be accepted. . . . The whole of the work under the contract will, we understand, be executed by Messrs. Bolekow, Vaughan & Co. themselves.

With reference to the supply of slot rails and conductor-tees, we are advised by the engineer that the tender of the Frodingham Iron and Steel Company, Limited, amounting to £36,461 15s., should be accepted. The lowest tender is that submitted by the Lorain Steel Company, who in this case also have intimated that they would not be prepared to accept the proposed clause with reference to payment of penalties in the event of late delivery, and we have therefore not considered their tender. The four next tenders lower in amount than that of the Frodingham Company provide for rails of **Belgian or American manufacture, and, in view of the extra expenditure which would have to be incurred in arranging for the proper inspection and supervision of the carrying out of the work, we are of opinion that the tender of the Frodingham Iron and Steel Company should be accepted.** This tender provides for steel of English manufacture, and it is only £2,394 2s. 6d. larger in amount than the second tender, that of Messrs. P. and W. Maclellan, which is, as stated above, for rails of Belgian manufacture.

As the Council is aware, the last contract entered into for the supply of rails provided for steel of Belgian manufacture, and it is satisfactory to note that the tenders which we propose should be accepted are 7 per cent. lower in amount, although providing for goods of British manufacture, than would be the case were they based on the prices in the contract last entered into.

PROGRESSIVE ARGUMENTS ANSWERED.

These recommendations were adopted, and, in speaking upon the report, Mr. Benn, the Progressive Chairman of the Highways Committee, claimed that £39,000 had been saved to the ratepayers by the policy of buying in the cheapest market. He contended that if the previous contracts had been limited to British rails, the prices would have been higher.

This suggestion is discredited by a letter to the *Times* (November 19th) from Sir Ralph Littler, K.C., stating that the

Middlesex County Council, in the autumn of 1902, obtained certain tenders for rails—

It was discovered after the tenders had been sent in, that no condition was made in the advertisements for the rails being of British manufacture, and the engineer was directed to apply to those who tendered for an amended estimate. The result is somewhat striking. The totals of the original tenders for lines Nos. 1, 3, 5, for rails properly priced out were, with foreign rails, £24,589 10s. The Committee invited the contractors to reconsider the increase needed to secure British instead of foreign rails, with the result that we have secured British rails at an increased cost of £344 5s., or about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the whole price.

Therefore, there is no ground for stating that, by limiting the contracts to British rails only, the prices would have been higher.

The chief point to be noted is that in the case of the tenders on December 22nd last, the Progressive policy of foreign contracts for track rails had to be abandoned because the engineer specified for acid steel. This condition in the specification was not complied with by foreign tenderers, and so they were ruled out.

One reason suggested for buying rails of British steel was that a comparison might be made between British and Belgian rails. If, however, the life of the steel tram rails is 25 years, when will such comparison be made?

It is important also to observe, that the reason given for accepting the tender of a British firm for the slot rails and conductor-tees was the facilities afforded for proper inspection during the course of manufacture. Such facilities could not exist in the case of a foreign contract.

Considerable and prolonged public discussion has ensued upon the action of the Progressive party on the London County Council in sending contracts abroad.

LABOUR CONDITIONS: BRITISH *VERSUS* BELGIAN.

The labour conditions prevailing in the manufacturing districts of this country (Board of Trade Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics) and in Belgium, where steel rails are produced, are as follows:—

ENGLAND.			BELGIUM.		
Skilled labour. Wages per day.	Unskilled labour. Wages per day.	Hours per week.	Skilled labour. Wages per day.	Unskilled labour. Wages per day.	Hours per week.
6s. 6d. 9d. an hr.	4s. 5½d. an hr.	52	4s. 5d. an hr.	2s. 6d. 3¼d. an hr.	59 to 84

The following extracts from an article in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 7th December, 1903, shows the condition of the Belgian workers at Liege, where these rails are produced :

Everybody has heard of cheap labour in Belgium, but it is seldom realised that the wages paid are so very much below trade union rates in England. Here, at Seraing, in the fitting shops, skilled labour is content with 5f., say 4s. a day : unskilled labour is paid 3f., or under half-a-crown ; and women and boys will earn 2f. or 1.50f.

The actual time given to skilled labour is reduced to about ten hours daily, or fifty-nine hours per week. In some departments, in which, as in England, the work must go on continuously night and day, the hours are much longer. The blast furnaces, when once started, cannot be neglected. The day shift relieves the night shift week after week, and, except for the Sunday off every fortnight, there can be no break to a seven-day week of eighty-four hours, inclusive of meal times.

There is no Saint Monday observed here, though, as a concession, the work on Monday morning begins at 8.30 a.m. instead of 6 a.m., and it may happen that some of the mechanics are not in their places until 1 p.m. The Saturday half-holiday is unknown, but once a fortnight—on pay-day—the men knock off at 4 p.m. instead of 6 p.m. Their meal times, too, are not prolonged, as commonly supposed. A quarter of an hour for breakfast, an hour for the mid-day dinner, and ten minutes for tea—with these the men are content. For there is

no trade union. . . . Mutual benefit societies exist, but trade union dictation is unknown, and, therefore, there are no trade union conditions and rates of wages, as required by the London County Council in its contracts with British employers.

Further, in Belgium there are no Truck Acts or other protective labour legislation as in this country.

THE MORAL BASIS OF CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

The question has been asked, "What is the moral basis which justifies any interference with our freedom to buy if we like in a foreign market?"

Surely the answer is this—the moral basis which justifies the action of the Conservatives in opposing the purchase of Belgian rails lies in the fact that such purchase is a departure from the generally accepted principle that a public body ought to be a model employer itself, and, further, it ought to see that public money is not spent in the purchase of goods produced abroad under degrading labour conditions.

ECONOMIC VIEW.

Is the Ratepayers' money saved by Foreign Contracts?

Mr. J. W. Benn (Progressive) has contended in a leaflet, entitled "The Belgian Rails Bogey," that the Council had a right to purchase in the cheapest market because it saved the ratepayers' money and enabled the tramways to be cheaply constructed. This is a most remarkable contention.

In the first place, there is no saving of the ratepayers' money. For, if the work had been done at home, at least £50,000 of the contract would have represented wages, and would have employed 670 men at 30s. per week, representing families amounting to nearly 3,400 persons. Thus, 670

No real saving by foreign contracts.

British workmen, who might otherwise have been employed. have lost a year's work, and it is a moderate estimate to say that at least 10 per cent. of the 3,400 persons mentioned above will have to seek relief from the Poor Law.

Therefore, the supposed saving of the ratepayers' money by purchasing in the cheapest market is more than counter-balanced by the increased cost of poor law relief.

Again, from another point of view, it must be remembered that the £50,000 of wages would have been spent and circulated among shopkeepers, &c., in this country, if the work had not gone abroad. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon this argument, for it is well known how much the prosperity of tradesmen in a manufacturing district depends upon the full employment of the workers. When business is good, more houses are occupied, rateable value is higher, pauperism decreases. When depression occurs the reverse is the case. Employment is more vital than cheapness.

Progressive policy
of cheap
labour.

Further, Mr. Benn's argument that the Council is justified in buying in the cheapest market is a very dangerous weapon. If that doctrine is once admitted, the whole labour policy of the Council is imperilled. For the logical conclusion of Mr. Benn's argument is, that if it is right to buy tram rails produced by sweated labour, then it is right also to employ sweated foreign labour on the tram lines themselves, in the works department, in every other branch of the Council's establishment, and to even allow the contractor to use cheap and nasty labour. For will not the ratepayers' money be thereby saved?

THE QUESTION OF ROYALTIES.

Mr. Benn and his Progressive friends have sought to explain the difference in the prices of British and Belgian rails

by suggesting that it is due to the heavy royalties in England. Messrs. Benn, Austin and Wood jointly published a leaflet, in which they set out the royalties in various countries and asked the question—

How can we expect to compete with foreign countries while these royalties hang like millstones round our necks ?

This argument of Mr. Benn was answered by a letter in the *Times*, November 28th, 1903, from Mr. J. Ratcliffe Cousins, L.C.C., which stated—

Mr. Benn gets more hopelessly adrift when he attempts to attribute the higher prices charged to the fact that the British rail makers are handicapped by a mining royalty of some 5s. or 6s. per ton, whereas in Belgium the royalty is under 1s. He seems to be totally unaware of the enormous amount of iron ore imported into this country, which amounted in 1902 to $6\frac{1}{4}$ million tons. How much royalty do the British rail makers pay on that affords a little problem for Mr. Benn. But, apart from this foreign ore, all the largest firms of steel rail manufacturers own their mines; Cammell's, The Barrow Hæmatite Company, and Guest, Keen & Co., own iron mines, as well as being large importers. Even where the manufacturer has to buy English ore, I have it on the authority of one of the largest firms that the royalty does not work out at more than 2s. a ton.

A second letter from Mr. Cousins (7th December, 1903,) stated—

Now, as to the second point, that the British rail makers are handicapped by a minimum royalty of 5s. or 6s. per ton, whereas in Belgium the royalty is only under 1s., Mr. Benn finds himself unable to maintain this statement in the face of the fact that Cammell's, the Barrow Hæmatite Company, and Guest, Keen & Co., and the other large steel rolling firms own their mines, or else buy their ore principally from Spain, in either of which case no royalties are paid. In a letter, which I have received from the Cyclops Steel and Iron Works, it is stated that by far the greater proportion of rail steel manufactured in this country is produced from Mediterranean ores, and it must not be forgotten that our large English firms own big iron mines in Spain.

VAUXHALL BRIDGE.

Another Progressive attempt to favour foreign contractors was made on June 23rd, 1903, on a report of the Bridges British or
Foreign
Materials ?

Committee, which recommended that a clause be inserted in the specification for the erection of the superstructure of Vauxhall Bridge, providing that all materials should be of British manufacture only. This was defeated by the Progressives on an amendment—Mr. Ward (Progressive) moving, and Mr. Yates (Progressive) seconding, the reference back, which was carried by 49 votes to 44.

The following Progressives voted against the resolution of the Committee to use British materials only :—

Austin, E. (Hoxton)	Leon, A. L. (Limehouse)
Baker, J. A. (Finsbury, E.)	Little, J. F. (Marylebone, E.)
Bayley, E. (Southwark, W.)	Macdonald, J. R. (Finsbury Central)
Benn, J. W. (Kennington)	McDougall, Sir John (Poplar)
Burns, J. (Battersea)	Parkinson, W. C. (Islington, N.)
Carrington, Earl (St. Pancras, W.)	Piggott, John (Newington, W.)
Clarke, C. Goddard (Peckham)	Radford, G. H. (Islington, W.)
Cleland, J. W. (Lewisham)	Sandhurst, Lord
Collins, S. (Kennington)	Sharp, L. (Brixton)
Collins, Sir W. J. (St. Pancras, W.)	Shepherd, A. J. (Hackney Central)
Cornwall, E. A. (Bethnal Green, N.E.)	Shrubsall, G. (Norwood)
Davies, W. (Battersea)	Smith, A. (Hackney, S.)
Dolman, F. (Brixton)	Spokes, R. (Walworth)
Elliott, G. S. (Islington, S.)	Stuart, J. (Haggerston)
Gilbert, J. D. (Newington, W.)	Torrance, A. M. (Islington, E.)
Goodman, W. (Islington, W.)	Verney, F. W. (Peckham)
Hemphill, Capt. F. (Finsbury Central)	Ward, H. (Teller) (Hoxton)
Hubbard, N. W. (Norwood)	Waterlow, D. S. (St. Pancras, N.)
Hunter, T. (Southwark, W.)	Webb, Sidney (Deptford)
Jackson, R. S. (Greenwich)	West, Sir A. E.
Johnson, W. C. (Whitechapel)	Wiles, T. (Bethnal Green, S.W.)
Lampard, G. (Hackney, N.)	Williams, Rev. C. Fleming
Laughland, J. (Islington, E.)	Williams, R. (Lambeth)
Lawson, Peter (Fulham)	Yates, W. B. (Teller)

In the above list will be noticed the names of all the leaders of the Progressive party who were present.

The Conservatives, although supported by some Labour members, were not able to defeat the Progressives.

On October 20th, the Bridges Committee presented a report to the Council containing the following tenders for the erection of the superstructure :—

	£	s.	d.
Messrs. Pethick Brothers (Foreign steel)	132,073	0	0
" " " (")	133,664	0	0
" " " (British steel)	137,073	0	0
A. Facey & Son	141,741	13	9
C. Wall	142,942	9	5
Patent Shaft and Axletree Company	153,551	10	0
Heenan & Froude, Limited	154,584	0	0
A. Handyside & Co.	158,200	11	4
Cochrane & Sons	158,500	0	0
Perry & Co.	160,360	0	0
Baudet, Donon & Co.	166,587	9	0
J. Westwood & Co., Limited	168,803	0	0

Fortunately, the foreign steel tender was rejected, because the Council's engineer "would not recommend its acceptance." Therefore, by the action of the engineer, the Progressive party were prevented from accepting a foreign contract.

L.C.C.
Engineer
rejects
foreign
steel.

The Bridges Committee recommended that the offer of Messrs. Heenan & Froude, Ltd., be accepted. On the motion of a Conservative member (Mr. E. White), it was decided to accept the tender of Mr. C. Wall, of Chelsea, so that the work might be given to a London firm and thus effect a saving of £11,641 10s. 7d. for the Ratepayers.

MAIN DRAINAGE—FLOODINGS.

A notable instance of how the Progressives have neglected to carry out primary duties of the first importance to the health of London is afforded by the scandalous delay in dealing with the inadequate main drainage system of the Metropolis.

1889-91. On the 17th December, 1889 (a few months after its constitution), the Council passed a resolution asking the Main Drainage Committee for information as to the condition of the main drainage system “with a view to the prevention of disease.”

Urgency of
sanitary
improve-
ment.

On January 17th, 1890, the Committee gave instructions to Mr. Benjamin Baker, and the chief engineer of the Council, to fully report upon (*inter alia*)

The provision of storm overflows, and the best means for avoidance of the floodings which have lately caused much inconvenience and injury in several low-lying districts.

The Committee urged—

Upon the engineers the desirability of the utmost promptitude in making their report, and that they should have regard to the advisability of delivering it to the Committee, for the information of the Council, in such time that, if works of magnitude may be recommended and approved, the requisite surveys and references could be made in time for any application to Parliament, of which notice would have to be given in the latter part of this year.—(*L.C.C. publication, No. 3, February, 1891, pp. 3-5.*)

ENGINEERS' REPORT.

A year later the engineers presented their joint report, dated February 19th, 1891. The report referred to the inadequacy of the sewers—

Report of
Engineers,
1891.

To the frequent flooding complained of in the Isle of Dogs, Poplar, Hackney Wick, and Westminster; from which it will be seen that relief for this portion of the system is urgently required. The cases of flooding on the south side of the river are most serious in Peckham, Dulwich and Streatham, and in some of the low-lying parts near the river.—(pp. 10, 18.)

The engineers then stated—

“Urgent
requirements.”

It will be manifest that the most urgent present requirements are the prevention, as far as possible, of floods due to rainfall.—(p. 19.)

They then deal with the necessary new works required to bring the existing main drainage up to present requirements and to provide for future increase.

The cost of the proposed works will be approximately as follows:—

Engineers’
proposals.

APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE COST OF THE PROPOSED WORKS FOR
IMPROVING THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF MAIN DRAINAGE ON THE
NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES OF THE THAMES.

Works on the North side of the Thames.

	£	£
New outfall sewer, Old Ford to Barking	620,000	
New intercepting sewer, Paddington to Old Ford	245,000	
Separation of Isle of Dogs and Hackney branches, including pumping engines	55,000	
Total of works on the North side of the Thames	—————	920,000

Works on the South side of the Thames.

New low level sewer and branches, from Deptford to Crossness	427,000	
New high level gravitation sewer, Dulwich and Crossness ..	784,000	
Engines and buildings at Crossness	89,000	
Total for works on the South side of the Thames	—————	1,300,000
Total for both sides		<u>2,220,000</u>

Summarising the report and conclusions, they say
(p. 33)—

We have found on investigation that the most frequent cause of public complaint is due to the insufficient size of the main outfall sewers which has led to floodings of the low districts, and to the frequent discharge of much crude, undiluted sewage into the Thames in the heart of the Metropolis. To remedy these immediate pressing evils, we have proposed the construction of new intercepting sewers on both sides of the river, of sufficient size to provide for the sewage of a future popu-

lation of seven millions, and also for a reasonable amount of rainfall, at a cost of about 2½ millions. We are of opinion that detailed plans should be prepared of these works, and that no time should be lost in commencing such portions of them as are more immediately required.

PLANS PREPARED.

On March 10th, 1891, the Main Drainage Committee recommended that detailed plans be prepared of the proposed new sewers. On the proposal to adopt this recommendation it was agreed that the following addition should be made to the motion:—

And that the Committee be instructed to obtain a further report, which shall have special reference to (A) the separation of the rainfall from the sewage in districts where it may be practicable; (B) the better prevention of storm overflows into the Thames and Lea; (C) the better purification of the river.—(*Minutes*, 1891, p. 297.)

With regard to (A) it may be stated that this proposal, if carried out, would cost about 20 millions sterling.

FOUR YEARS' DELAY.

Year after year grave complaints of floodings continued to be made by local authorities in various districts, but little was done to obviate the inconvenience, monetary loss and injury to public health. A few minor works were carried out, but the main proposals of Sir Benjamin Baker and Mr. Binnie were disregarded.

On the 10th of December, 1895, an adjourned report of the Main Drainage Committee was considered by the Council. This report began—

We have to call the serious attention of the Council to the present state of the main drainage of London on the north side of the Thames.

L.C.C.
inaction,
1895.

Serious
loss and
injury to
public
health.

It then gave a brief outline of the main drainage system, and the proposals of Sir Benjamin Baker and Mr. Binnie in their joint report of February, 1891.

In reports, dated 15th February, 1894, and 17th October, 1895, the chief engineer has again called our attention to the necessity of at once undertaking the works required on the north side of the Thames. The chief engineer, reviewing all the facts, informs us that he was more strongly impressed than ever with the necessity of immediately proceeding with these works. **If this is not done, he fears that the main drainage system will fall into disrepute.**

The Committee recommended the construction of an additional outfall sewer between Old Ford and Barking, and the new intercepting sewer between Paddington and Old Ford—the two chief proposals for North London contained in the report of 1891.

Pro-
gressive
obstruction
to sanitary
improve-
ments.

PROGRESSIVE OPPOSITION TO REFORM.

On the motion to adopt the recommendations of the Committee, an amendment was moved by Mr. McDougall (Progressive), seconded by Mr. Idris (Progressive)—

That the general enlargement of the main drainage system is not now necessary, but that local floodings need immediate attention.

This amendment was carried, but, on the motion of Dr. Longstaff (Conservative), the following words were added—

And that the Main Drainage Committee be instructed to bring up a report, showing in detail the results of the several works carried out by the Council, with a view to relieve the main drainage system.

Mr. McDougall, in moving his amendment, contended that the new sewers would not be successful in preventing the floodings—

That during the last six years the Council had spent, in connection with the relief of the sewers in the north of London, £165,000, and there was now **no need for any general enlargement of the sewerage system.**

Mr. Idris, in seconding the amendment, said—

Further
delay.

That if they went on as they were now doing, he felt sure that every year that passed would only tend to prove the futility of such an expenditure as they were now asked to sanction.

This Progressive opposition to the carrying out of extremely urgent main drainage works was directly contrary to the opinion of the engineers, and the result was that London still continued to suffer from floodings.

ANOTHER FOUR YEARS' DELAY.

1899.

However, four years later, in 1899, Sir Alexander Binnie again recommended the execution of the proposed sewage works, north and south of the Thames, at an estimated cost of nearly three million pounds. These proposals were submitted to the Council on the 5th December, 1899, with an expression of opinion that all the sewers should be constructed with as little delay as possible.

The report stated that—

For a long time past serious complaints have been made of the insufficiency of the main sewers in the various parts of London, and our attention has been frequently directed to the dangers arising to public health from the periodical flooding of dwelling houses and other buildings with storm waters and sewage. **The duty of providing means for the drainage of the Metropolis is undoubtedly one of the principal duties committed to the charge of the Council, and the manner in which the Council fulfils its obligation in seeing that this work is effectually done is, and must be, a matter of the utmost concern to the public.**—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, 1899, p. 1,720.)

After recapitulating the facts, as before stated, the report of the Committee stated, in effect, that the minor works carried out would be practically of little avail until the large works were executed.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES CONDEMN L.C.C.

Strong representations, urging the construction of additional relief sewers, have been made by the following authorities :—

Local Authorities
condemn
L.C.C.

Battersea	Kensington	St. Luke's
Bermondsey	Lee	St. James, Westminster
Camberwell	Limehouse	St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster
Chelsea	Newington	St. Martin-in-the-Fields
Fulham	Paddington	St. Marylebone
Hackney	Plumstead	St. Olave's
Hammersmith	Poplar	St. George, Hanover Square
Holborn	St. George, Hanover Square	Whitechapel
Islington	St. George-the-Martyr	

Most of these authorities urge the construction of the sewers recommended in the joint report of 1891, and deputations from several of them have, from time to time, appeared before us. We may also state, for the information of the Council, that some time ago a conference of the representatives of the Vestry of Hackney, Vestry of Paddington, Poplar District Board, Vestry of Stoke Newington, Vestry of Islington, and the Hornsey and South Hornsey District Councils, was held to discuss the serious condition of affairs arising from the insufficiency of the main sewers, and a deputation subsequently attended before us in support of a memorial urging that additional works, recommended as a remedy in the joint report of Sir Benjamin Baker and Sir Alexander Binnie, should be proceeded with without further delay, and that all minor works, which would tend to lessen local floodings and improve the flow of the high-level sewer, should be at once carried out. A further conference of the leading parishes on the north side of the Thames was held at the Paddington Vestry Hall on Friday, 27th October last, when the following resolution, relating to storm floodings and the attitude of the Council in the matter, was passed : " That this conference, comprising representatives of the leading parishes on the north side of the Thames, hereby places on record its surprise that, notwithstanding the strong expression of opinion by the Main Drainage Committee of the London County Council and its responsible officers, and the repeated representations of vestries and district boards, to the effect that the existing sewer accommodation of the Metropolis was entirely inadequate to carry out the work required of it, no attempt should have been made to abate the intolerable nuisance complained of ; and further, that this conference urges upon the Council the absolute necessity of their at once carrying out such works as may be necessary to remedy the above-mentioned state of things."—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, 1899, p. 1,723.)

MORE PROGRESSIVE OPPOSITION.

Notwithstanding the urgency of the matter, Mr. McDougall

(Progressive) moved an amendment, seconded by Mr. Idris (Progressive)—

That the Council re-affirms its resolution of the 10th December, 1895, viz., that the general enlargement of the main drainage system is not now necessary, but that local floodings need immediate attention, and that, therefore, the recommendation be referred back to the Committee.—(*L.C.C. Minutes, p. 1,728.*)

The amendment, however, was lost, and the Council decided, after eight years' delay, to execute certain works.

The sums voted by the Council in respect of the enlargement of the Northern outfall sewer are as follows :—

Two sewers between the Abbey Mills pumping station and the Barking outfall, inclusive of incidental works at the latter station	£600,000
Two sewers between the Abbey Mills pumping station and Old Ford	200,000
	<hr/> £800,000 <hr/>

On the south side of the Thames the Council decided to construct a new outfall sewer between Deptford pumping station and the Crossness outfall, and a high level sewer between Crossness and Plumstead railway station, besides various other works. The sums voted by the Council in respect of this work amount to £650,000.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FLOODINGS.

On the 29th June, 1903, the *Times* contained a letter from Sir Philip Burne-Jones, Bart., on the inadequate drainage in London. After briefly stating the inaction of the London County Council, the letter proceeds :—

I need not enlarge, Sir, upon what this flooding involves. Hundreds of houses are inundated with a flood of filthy black water, thick with mud and sewage, which forces its way up through gullies and manholes and any apertures connecting the houses with the drains. **In the case of well-to-do people this causes huge inconvenience and much expense ; where their humbler neighbours are concerned, the effect is distressing and disastrous in the extreme.** I have this morning visited several basements in the poorer quarters of this neighbourhood ; and the sights

which I have seen might well stimulate the London County Council to immediate and productive action of some sort, if it were only to provide additional relays of workmen, and so hasten the completion of the new pumping station in Lot's Road. The community would, I think, be willing to dispense with the bands in the parks (for a few Sundays) as a contribution to any extra expenses incurred. **The soaking damp floors, the foul, stagnant sewer steeped water lying in the areas of the little houses, presented a spectacle of desolation which it would be hard to match anywhere.** In one case, the fireplace itself was bulging out of its brick setting, having been loosened by the water. **A very little imagination will picture the indescribable details of discomfort and misery which would be caused by the sudden immersion of one's living room in several feet of reeking sewage water. During the past few days the destruction of property in this parish has been enormous ; the danger to health is just as great.** I have stated the bare facts, trusting that you, Sir, will give them publicity, and that by so doing the London County Council (who are primarily responsible for this indescribable misery) may be moved to do something more than talk and pass resolutions. Do not let them waste more time, even in defending themselves, but let them act ; and even thus late in the day, after being in possession of the facts for 14 years without moving in the matter, let them devise a practical remedy for the evil at their doors, and thus justify their stewardship to the long-suffering ratepayers of the Metropolis."

The flooding of houses by sewage has greatly increased in the last few years, and on the 17th October, 1903, the *Times* contained the following :—

THE FLOODING IN SOUTH LONDON.—At the Southwark Town Hall, a conference of delegates from the South London borough councils was held on Thursday, to consider the subject of the periodical flooding of houses and business premises. The Mayor of Southwark (Mr. T. Bryan), who presided, said that the question affected all the boroughs in South London, and it was a serious menace to the health of the people. In Southwark, for instance, the deaths from consumption numbered 500 annually, and it was out of the question to reduce that fearful rate when the subsoil of the district was rendered perennially damp. **Recently 2,000 houses were flooded with sewage, and tradesmen had large quantities of goods damaged.** Mr. Attenborough (Southwark) moved the appointment of a deputation to wait upon the London County Council, pointing out the serious danger to the health of the inhabitants of South London boroughs likely to arise from the periodical flooding of their premises with sewage, and to urge upon the Council the necessity of taking effective steps to deal with the question at the earliest possible date. The Mayor of Wandsworth seconded the motion. Lieutenant-Colonel W. Kent Lemon (Greenwich) advocated recourse to the Law Courts for a mandamus compelling the County Council to remedy the matter. The motion was carried. The Mayor of Wandsworth then moved :—" That this conference advise the local councils to petition the Local Government Board to hold an inquiry

South
London
floods.

into the serious neglect of the County Council to provide sufficient main drainage for London." Alderman the Rev. J. N. Anderson, in seconding the motion, said that the sewers were carrying 80 per cent. more sewage than they were built for, and were serving a population 50 per cent. greater than they were intended to serve. He knew of two fever hospitals that had been flooded and their boiler fires extinguished, while in one some of the wards were flooded and the patients had to be carried out late at night. At present five wards in the hospital were not safe to be used. Eventually an amendment was carried agreeing to leave the question of an appeal to the Local Government Board until after the conference had waited upon the County Council.

Deputation
to the
L.C.C.

On the 1st December, 1903, the General Purposes Committee reported to the Council that—

Jointly with the Main Drainage Committee, they had received a deputation from South London borough councils which desired to press upon the Council the inadequacy of the main drainage system for dealing with storm water on the south side of the Thames, and urged that such steps as might be necessary should be taken to prevent a recurrence of floodings. The delegates were informed that their representations would receive the most careful consideration of the Council. The statements made by the deputation were now receiving the consideration of the Main Drainage Committee, who had for a considerable time been devoting their attention to the question of the means to be taken for the improvement of the main drainage system in the direction indicated by the deputation.

The report was received.

SANITARY EXPERTS CONDEMN L.C.C.

Sanitary
Institute
condemn
L.C.C.

On the 9th of December, 1903, Sir Benjamin Baker, K.C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., M.Inst.C.E., presided at a discussion held at the Sanitary Institute, Parkes Museum, on "The Flooding of Basements in London by Sewage."

Dr. H. R. Kenwood, M.B., D.P.H., said he was not going to deny himself the luxury of criticism. **The dreadful and disgusting experience of the present year would have been spared if the County Council had acted before. It had required ten years, two reports, a mandamus, and threats to bring the Council before the Courts of Law, before it could make up its mind.** Fourteen years ago the County Council had this before them for eight months, and instructed the Main Drainage Committee to secure the services of an eminent civil engineer. Fourteen months afterwards (1891) Sir Benjamin Baker and Sir Alexander Binnie recommended new outfall sewers. Nothing was done for four and a-half years, when the Main

Drainage Committee recommended that the work be carried out. Two years afterwards, in response to a deputation, the engineer to the County Council was again instructed to report. This he did, and fifteen months afterwards work was recommended at a cost of one and a-half millions. At a conference of the leading boroughs on the north side of the Thames, six months afterwards, a resolution was passed placing on record surprise that, notwithstanding repeated reports that the existing sewer accommodation of the Metropolis was entirely inadequate, no attempt should be made to abate the nuisance. In December, 1899, the County Council approved the report of the Main Drainage Committee, **pronounced eight years previously to be of so urgent a character, but Mr. McDougall, as in 1895, moved an amendment that the scheme was not now necessary. The failure of the Council to deal promptly with the question endangered health by the flooding of dwellings, and led to a large amount of avoidable pollution.** In their own borough they were not under the impression that complaints were made in all instances, and on making a house-to-house inspection had been struck with the very large number of cases where basements had been flooded, and the people had made no complaint, recognising the hopelessness of doing so. **Wash houses and underground bakehouses and cellars had been inundated, and carpets and goods were injured or spoiled, and deposit left over and under floors, endangering health.** They must all fully recognise the excellent work of the County Council, but found it difficult to realise why this work had so long been shelved, when other schemes had been dealt with. He would have preferred to have seen this great sanitary improvement carried out in precedence to many matters dealt with, such as the housing scheme, which furnished so modest a result, having regard to its costliness. The County Council, as a body, had only during the last few years fully recognised the importance of the work. **Under great pressure they made a display of being desirous of doing something by calling for successive reports.** They would not escape from criticism until they had taken hold of the work with both hands, and until the general public found remedied the disgraceful condition under which so many had been compelled to live for so many years.

Mr. Councillor F. A. Dod, Stoke Newington, referred to the report presented to the London County Council in 1891. He said that body was responsible for the present state of things, and moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the flooding of London basements with sewage is a grave menace to public health, and regrets that this menace has been allowed to continue for so many years, owing to the neglect of the County Council. It urges upon that body to proceed with the work of making main sewers to relieve London of its present insanitary state."

Mr. Loveday seconded. He said that the County Council had done nothing apparently to increase the capacity of the sewers.

The Chairman said it had been proved that a large measure must be carried out. It would not in the least hurt the County Council, if they had behind them the pressure of the Sanitary Institute.

Mr. Fitzmaurice and Dr. Kenwood having replied, Councillor Dod's resolution was carried as amended according to the suggestion of the Chairman. The amended resolution was:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the flooding of London basements with sewage is a great menace to public health, and regrets that this menace has been allowed to continue for so many years. It requests the Council of the Institute to urge the London County Council to proceed with all possible expedition with the completion of the necessary work of the main sewers to relieve London from its present insanitary state."

—*Local Government Journal*, December 19th, 1903.

BOROUGH COUNCILS CONDEMN L.C.C.

At a Conference of Delegates from the Islington, Hackney and Stoke Newington Borough Councils, held at Stoke Newington, on January 4th, 1904, a resolution was passed viewing "with regret the delay of the L.C.C. in giving effect to their Engineers' Reports of 1891 and 1899 and in grappling with the question."

At Paddington Town Hall, on January 20th, 1904, a conference of delegates from the Borough Councils of Fulham, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Islington, Kensington, Marylebone, Paddington and Stoke Newington, unanimously resolved that the Conference "viewed with alarm and regret the great delay of the London County Council in giving effect to their engineer's reports of 1891 and 1899 dealing with the question of the main drainage of London."—*Times*, January 21st, 1904.

It is estimated that the damage to property by floodings in London since 1891 (when the work ought to have been undertaken by the London County Council) exceeds the probable cost of the sewerage works necessary to remedy the evil.

For the grave injury to public health, and the serious loss to the community caused by these filthy floods, the Progressives are responsible.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

THE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

To the Conservative and Unionist party is due most of the law relating to the housing of the working classes. Formerly it was embodied in three sets of Acts—Shaftesbury's Acts (enabling local authorities to provide lodging houses for letting to the labouring classes); Torrens's Acts (empowering local authorities to deal with houses unfit for human habitation); and Cross's Acts (giving the authorities power to carry out improvement schemes for unhealthy areas). Under Lord Shaftesbury's Acts scarcely anything was done; little was accomplished under Mr. Torrens's measures; but under the Acts passed when Mr. (now Lord) Cross was Home Secretary, in Lord Beaconsfield's ministry, many substantial improvements were instituted in London.

Housing legislation mainly due to Conservative party.

In 1884, mainly at the instance of Lord Salisbury, a Royal Commission sat to inquire into the working of, and suggest improvements in, these Acts.

The Royal Commission: its recommendations carried out by Conservative and Unionist party.

The Commission directed its recommendations mainly to two objects—(1) The improvement of the means possessed by the Metropolitan Board of Works and the local bodies for dealing with the subject; (2) The reform of the local authorities themselves.

Conservative and Unionist Governments have since passed—

- (1) The Local Government Act, 1888, and the London Government Act, 1899, and thereby created in the County Council and the Borough Councils municipal authorities capable of dealing with the housing problem ;
- (2) *The Housing of the Working Classes Acts*, 1890, 1900 and 1903, and the *Public Health Act*, 1891, the great measures with which those authorities are armed for their work.

Radical
testimony
to Conser-
vative
measures.

The writer of the articles in the *Daily News*, headed "No Room to Live" (Reprint, 1899, p. 137), thus speaks of the latter Acts :—

Bear in mind that the powers of the local authorities are neither few nor small. They are sufficient to deal with all the forms of overcrowding and horrible housing, and every kind of unhealthy dwelling. They are fairly simple too and clearly defined. They are all compressed within two Acts of Parliament—the Public Health Act and the Housing of the Working Classes Act.

The Radicals can point to no piece of effective legislation on the subject.

Public
Health
Act, 1891.

The Public Health Act consolidated and amended the sanitary laws formerly administered by the Vestries and District Boards and now by the Borough Councils. It contains numerous provisions for the prevention of overcrowding and sanitary evils of all sorts, and it places the County Council in the position of a central health authority for certain purposes.

Housing
Act, 1890.

The Housing Act brought within a single Statute the former Acts, with many improvements.

Powers
under
Part I.
to clear
large
insanitary
areas.

Part I. enables the County Council to clear large unhealthy areas. The Council, if satisfied by the representations of a medical officer of health that the sanitary defects of an area cannot be remedied otherwise than by an improvement

scheme for the rearrangement and reconstruction of the streets and houses, makes a scheme which has to be confirmed by a Secretary of State and Parliament. The Council is required by the Act to provide accommodation for at least as many persons of the working classes as may be displaced, but a Secretary of State may, *on the application of the Council*, dispense with the obligation to an extent not exceeding one half. The compensation payable for property taken compulsorily within an unhealthy area is limited by special provisions, which forbid any allowance in respect of the compulsory purchase.

Part II. of the Act gives the County Council and the Vestries and District Boards power to make improvement schemes for unhealthy areas, which are too small to be dealt with under Part I. The schemes must be sanctioned by the Local Government Board, but need not be confirmed by Parliament, unless an owner of any part of an area petitions against a scheme. The London County Council may contribute towards vestry schemes, and a Secretary of State may order the Council to contribute. The local authorities have extensive powers under this part of the Act as regards the closing and demolition of dwellings unfit for human habitation.

Part III. made the powers of Lord Shaftesbury's Act metropolitan instead of local. It enables the London County Council to buy land by agreement, or compulsorily with the authority of a Secretary of State, for the purpose of erecting lodging houses which include cottages, for the working classes, and also to contract for the purchase or lease of lodging houses.

By the *London Government Act*, 1899, the Unionist Parliament gave power to the Borough Councils to adopt Part III. of the Housing Act within their own boroughs.

County
Council
empowered
to buy land
outside
county
under
Part III.

By the *Housing of the Working Classes Amendment Act*, 1900, introduced by Mr. Chaplin, Parliament has extended the powers of the Council, under Part III., so as to enable it to buy land outside as well as within the county boundary, and has also *empowered it to lease land acquired* under Part III. to any lessee, for the purpose and under the condition that the lessee will carry the Act into execution by building and maintaining on the land lodging houses within the meaning of the Act. Provision is made for securing the use of the land for the purposes of the Act and the maintenance and repair of the houses.

[The Council has no power to sell land bought under Part III., though it has power to sell or let land acquired under Part I., and is indeed required to sell land so acquired within ten years.]

In March, 1902, a Joint Select Committee was appointed to consider the Standing Orders relating to displacement of persons of the labouring classes in connection with the powers given by public and private Acts. Their recommendations were embodied in the Housing Act of the following year.

By the *Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1903* (introduced by Mr. Walter Long, the President of the Local Government Board), the maximum term for repayment of housing loans was extended from 60 to 80 years ; the powers of local authorities to issue loans were enlarged ; rehousing obligations on railway and other corporations were strengthened ; greater powers were conferred upon the Local Government Board to deal with authorities refusing to carry out the law against insanitary houses and districts ; the procedure necessary to obtain sanction from the central authority for an improvement scheme was simplified ; the power of the local authorities to demolish insanitary houses was enlarged ; and generally, the power of municipal bodies was widened.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ACTS.

The Metropolitan Board of Works carried out sixteen schemes, under Cross's Acts, at a net cost of £1,318,935, displaced 21,207 persons, but caused accommodation to be provided for 27,066. (Return of Housing Scheme, published by L.C.C., October, 1899.)

Schemes
executed
by Metro-
politan
Board of
Works.

The Board sold its sites to the Peabody trustees and others, who provided the dwellings.

The Council's policy may be divided into two periods:—

Council's
policy.

(1) BEFORE NOVEMBER, 1898.

The Council inherited from the Metropolitan Board six schemes, initiated under Cross's Acts, the net cost being £278,382.

Schemes
under-
taken
before
Nov.,
1898.

It initiated (to 1898) seven schemes, under Part I. and Part II. of the Housing Act, the net cost being £569,050. Property in connection with these, estimated to cost £283,650, had not been acquired (1898)—the only large scheme nearly completed being Boundary Street (net cost £252,588).

The return mentioned above (dated October, 1899) disclosed the following particulars as to housing schemes inherited or initiated by the Council:—

Number of persons displaced, or to be displaced.	Obligation to rehouse.	Persons for whom dwellings have been provided.	Persons for whom dwellings are in course of erection.	Accommodation in dwellings for which plans are being prepared.
Displaced . 12,837*				
To be dis- placed . 5,192*	11,277	6,812	3,088	1,356
18,029				

* These figures are not given in the return (only the total 18,029), but they are official.

The return also gave particulars of sites vacant for several years, in respect of which the obligation to rehouse had not been discharged on 31st March, 1899. The total number displaced was 1,844.

The return also showed that the Council had displaced 4,881 persons under improvement schemes, involving the submission of a rehousing scheme to the Home Secretary, while the number rehoused, or to be rehoused, was 3,974.

The policy of the Council as regards rehousing was thus stated by the Housing of the Working Classes Committee in November, 1898 :—

Hitherto the Council, whether acting under Part I. or Part II., has in many cases felt itself justified in securing the provision of dwellings for a number slightly in excess of half those displaced.

In other words, the Council, up to the end of 1898, was generally content to aim at the minimum rather than the maximum of accommodation required by the Housing Act, and the result of its operations under Part I. was that it had *cleared one large slum and a few small ones, and had displaced many more people than it had rehoused.*

This is what the *Daily News* writer says (Reprint, 1899, p. 57) :—

Take the London County Council's record. In their various schemes they have turned out some 24,000 people, but have barely built houses for 10,000. What of the remaining 14,000 among the driven out? Nay, more than 14,000, for we have already seen how very few of the people displaced ever return to the new buildings.

Sir Robert Reid, Q.C., in the debate on the Housing Bill, on 17th May, 1900, stated that—

As the result of nine years' work of the London County Council only one-half per cent. of the overcrowded class was rehoused each year.

Only eleven out of 5,719 displaced at Boundary Street have been rehoused in the Council's dwellings.

The Council's policy to displace many more persons than it housed.

Radical criticism.

As regards Part III. of the Act, the Housing Committee made the following statement (*Minutes*, November, 1898):—

Part III.
not used by
Council
apart from
rehousing.

Apart from the rehousing of persons displaced by improvement schemes, which the Council is by Statute required to carry out, it has not hitherto put in force the powers, which it possesses under Part III., to buy land and build thereon for the purpose of increasing the supply of house accommodation in or near London.

And they point out that the Millbank Prison site, which was purchased under Part III., was really acquired and being used for rehousing purposes. The Council, therefore (with the exception of the lodging house at Parker Street, Drury Lane, which was built under Part III.), allowed Part III. to remain a dead letter for eight years, so far as increasing the supply of accommodation was concerned.

The *Fortnightly Review* of December, 1900, had an article indicting the Council for not having used Part III. to increase the supply of working class accommodation. Mr. Waterlow, Radical Chairman of the Housing Committee, in a letter to the *Review* of January, 1901, made this defence:—(1) That Part III. has been used; and, to prove it, he referred to Millbank, and a few other sites, acquired for *rehousing* purposes; and also to two large sites, acquired apart from rehousing schemes, one bought eighteen months before, the other just then acquired. And he included in the “number of persons provided for” (!) the persons who might in the course of years occupy dwellings on these sites, though the plans for these dwellings were not yet in existence. (2) That Part III. “has not been used for the purposes of indulging in wild-cat speculations in building estates in suburban London, by buying vacant land with no convenient means of communication.” But the point made against him was not that the Council should have indulged in wild-cat speculations, but that it ought to have made use of Part III. from 1890 to 1899.

Radical
excuses.

(2) AFTER NOVEMBER, 1898.

Council
changes its
policy by
previous reso-
lutions
apart from
actual
schemes.

In November, 1898, the Council formally determined to turn over a new leaf. It resolved:—(1) That in future housing accommodation should be provided for a number of persons equal to that of the working classes displaced under any scheme; (2) That action should be taken under Part III. apart from rehousing, with this important proviso—"that no charge be placed on the county rate thereby." The reason given for this change of policy was the deficiency of house room in London. This deficiency, however, existed when the Royal Commission of 1884 held their inquiry, and caused them to recommend that a trial should be given to Lord Shaftesbury's Act. It was also well ascertained by the census of 1891, which disclosed the fact that 214,843 persons lived in tenements of one room, and that 128,000 persons, in families of from four to twelve persons, were living with only one room to each family.

The Conservatives took exception to the resolutions referred to in the preceding paragraph as valueless. Their view was that schemes were wanted, not abstract resolutions; and, in fact, a year passed before the Housing Committee were able to submit any practical proposal. The Conservative party has voted for all schemes brought forward, whether under Part I. or Part III.

New
clearance
schemes
under-
taken, and
a site
bought
under
Part III.

In March, 1899, a Conservative was appointed Chairman.

The Committee during his Chairmanship—

- (1) Obtained sanction, in October, 1899, for four clearance schemes under Part I.;
- (2) Passed through the Council, in January, 1900, a scheme under Part III.—the first of its kind.

The scheme is for the purchase of 38½ acres at Tooting (Totterdown Fields), for the erection of cottages to house some 8,000 persons. It is estimated that land

roads and buildings will cost £500,000, and that no charge will be entailed on the ratepayers.

- (3) Discovered the fact, of which previous Committees had been ignorant, that the powers under Part III. were restricted to the purchase of land within the county—a restriction which, as already stated, has been removed by the Act of 1900.

In March, 1900, Mr. Waterlow, a Radical, was appointed Chairman of the Housing Committee.

On 11th, December 1900, on the recommendation of the Housing Committee, the Council decided to buy a site at Norbury, just outside the county boundary, and thus took advantage of Mr. Chaplin's Act of 1900.

A building scheme of doubtful merit undertaken.

The site is about 31 acres, the price £600 per acre, and it is proposed to build some 762 cottages. The rents to be charged vary from 6s. per week for two rooms and small kitchen to 11s. 6d. for five rooms.

The estimated annual surplus, after providing for interest on capital and sinking fund, is £470.

The Finance Committee, reporting on above proposal, made the following remarks:—

Remarks by the Finance Committee.

We understand that this scheme will be followed by other projects for the development of estates of dwellings for the working classes in other districts outside the county boundary, and, having regard to the Council's heavy commitments on capital account, we think the Council will agree that the total amount which should be expended for this purpose within the next few years must be, to some extent, limited. We think, therefore, that the Council should carefully consider the merit of each proposal with reference to the aim in view, viz., the relief of the overcrowding in central London.

The scheme, though the Council did not divide upon it, met with considerable criticism in the Council from members of both parties. The capital which the Council can expend being limited, it is most important that those sites should be bought which can be developed to the advantage of over-

Pro-gressive policy.

crowded London. But the Norbury cottages are more likely to benefit Croydon people than Londoners, and the rents, plus the cost of travelling to central London, are prohibitive to all but well paid artisans. The same remark applies to another scheme, *e.g.*, Wood Green. Mr. Waterlow, in presenting the Norbury scheme to the Council, said: "The plan was not one to house the poorest class. He did not think it possible to house that class. The Committee wanted to help those who could help themselves."

Conser-
vative
policy.

The Conservative policy is rather to help those who cannot help themselves to decent accommodation.

As regards the work of the Council, under Part III., the following are the particulars of sites acquired as stated in the Annual Report of the Council, 1903 (p. 102):—

Site.	Acre- age.	Cost of Land.	Estimated Cost of Buildings.	Total Estimated Cost of Land and Buildings.	No. of Persons to be provided for.
Totterdown Fields, Tooting ..	38½	£ 44,238	£ 356,000	£ 400,238	8,300
Norbury, Surrey	31	20,000	263,000	283,000	5,800
Wedmore Street, Upper Holloway..	1½	12,500	49,500	62,000	1,050
Dufferin Street Dwellings	—	—	—	*6,615	174
Caledonian Asylum, Holloway ..	2	16,500	66,500	83,000	1,384
Holmwood Buildings, No. 97, South- wark Street	—	‡3,200	‡1,886	5,086	72
White Hart Lane, Wood Green ..	225	91,000	1,881,602	1,972,602	42,500
Old Oak Common Lane, Hammersmith	50	30,000	360,000	390,000	9,200
Brixton Hill	1	7,500	27,305	34,805	620
Hughes Fields, Surplus Lands ..	—	1,000	17,661	18,661	440
Totals	350	225,938	3,023,454	3,256,007	69,540

* Buildings purchased after they had been built by other persons.

‡ Cost of conversion.

† Value of existing building.

It is to be observed that these schemes are very far from completion, and the estates are being very slowly developed.

The following is a general summary of all the work done to 31st March, 1903 (Annual Report, 1903):—

	No. of Persons displaced or to be displaced from in- sanitary areas.	Total Number of Tenements.	Total number of persons provided or to be pro- vided for.	Estimated Value of Land for Housing Purposes, and Cost of Buildings.	Estimated Cost of Clearance.
Buildings already completed and occupied	—	3,912	19,628	£ 1,261,000	£ —
Buildings in course of erection ..	—	1,161	6,851	381,000	—
Buildings for which working drawings are being prepared	—	1,665	10,133	540,000	—
Insanitary areas already dealt with..	8,669	—	*8,672	—	360,924
Insanitary areas now being dealt with	7,886	—	*6,981 } 1,030 }	—	740,500
Totals	16,555	6,738	37,642	2,182,000	1,131,900
Buildings for which plans are in course of preparation	—	8,833	60,466	2,671,000	—
Grand Totals	16,555	17,571	98,108	4,853,000	1,131,900

* These are included in other divisions of this summary, and are, therefore, not included in the total.

On July 28th, 1903, the Housing Committee reported that, since March 31st, dwellings had been opened for 1,584 persons.

Therefore, the sum total of the Council's housing work is that, in thirteen years, some 16,500 poor people have been unhoused, and accommodation provided for some 21,500 people, mainly of a better class, well-to-do artisans, &c. That is to say, the bulk of the housing problem has not been reduced by more than 5,000. And statistics show that some 800,000 persons are living in an overcrowded state in London. The work of the Council is still mainly on paper. No practical substantial relief has been given to the overcrowded poor.

HIGH RENTS.

Another criticism directed against the Council's housing policy is the high rents charged for the dwellings. A report of the Housing Committee, dated 17th January, 1903, stated :—

At present, the rents of one-roomed tenements (with scullery) vary according to locality and class of building from 2s. 3d. to 5s. per week ; of two-roomed tenements, from 4s. 8d. to 9s. 6d. per week ; of three-roomed tenements, from 5s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. per week ; of four-roomed tenements, from 7s. to 12s. 6d. per week ; and of five-roomed tenements, from 12s. to 13s.—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, p. 1,029.)

The mass of the overcrowded poor earn anything from 16s. to 22s. a week, and the stringent regulations and the high rents charged by the London County Council preclude occupation of the dwellings by those for whom they are built.

The cause of the high rents may be largely attributed to the extravagant designs and ornamentation of the dwellings. On April 2nd, 1903, during a debate in the House of Commons on the administration of the Housing Acts, Mr. Walter Long said :—

The Department had been asked to adopt one of the recommendations of the Committee, that buildings should not be of a pretentious character. That had been the object of the Department ever since it had been responsible for the Acts. It was constantly endeavouring to cut down the amount which the local authorities were seeking to spend under this head, and to curtail unnecessary extravagance.

NO HOUSES FOR POOR PARENTS WITH FAMILIES.

The *Daily Express* of January 8th, 1904, gives some instructive information as to the failure of the London County Council housing policy :—

Inquiries as to what the County Council were doing to mitigate this serious social evil showed that this body, which has spent, or proposes to spend, three millions in housing the poor, is one of the greatest offenders.

“The standard fixed by the Council,” said an official yesterday, “is two persons per room. A child up to five is not reckoned ; between five and ten it is counted as an adult.”

This did not, however, reveal the whole story. On the Millbank site a tenement of four rooms costs 13s. per week. This will accommodate father, mother and baby, and four children under the age of ten. At East Greenwich two County Council rooms can be had for 4s. 6d., while a rent of 9s. 6d. per week must be paid for the same accommodation at Holmwood Buildings. Three rooms cost 6s. 3d. at Hughes Fields Cottages, and 10s. 6d. at Millbank and Boundary Street, Bethnal Green.

In the Council's dwellings are clergymen, doctors and others who work among the poor. There are 293 labourers, 207 policemen, and 115 tailors out of the 14,000 people living in County Council dwellings.

"Overcrowding is not allowed," said a County Councillor, "and we were obliged to turn out fifteen families last year on that account. More than 1,000 tenants are leaving each year, and the number seems to be increasing."

CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

(1) *To administer zealously and effectively the powers of the Housing Acts, including those authorising the purchase of sites for cottages and other dwellings, apart from clearance schemes.*

The duty of Conservative administrators to give full effect to these measures, which were passed by Conservative Governments, is plain.

The late *Lord Salisbury*, speaking in the House of Lords in 1899 upon the London Government Bill, said, with reference to the power bestowed by the Bill upon the Borough Councils for buying land under Part III. of the Housing Act for workmen's dwellings :—

Duty of
using
Part III.
enforced
by Lord
Salisbury

The difficulty of the conditions is that the ordinary economic laws do not come into play. You are yourselves obliged constantly to destroy vast masses of poor men's dwellings, and every effort to provide an adequate substitute has hitherto, I am afraid, been a failure. The London County Council has undertaken part of the duty ; but it will not be only on the London County Council that this duty will fall—the duty of providing, I will not say of providing, but of striving to provide, adequate lodging for the vast multitudes who inhabit this city. It is one of the principal duties which these municipal bodies will have to perform.

The London County Council must do its part of the duty.

(2) *To provide accommodation equal to that destroyed under clearance and improvement schemes ; to strive to rehouse as many*

The actual
persons
displaced

to be rehoused, especially those who must live in the particular neighbourhood.

as possible of the actual persons displaced by providing accommodation before displacement and otherwise ; and to make special efforts to rehouse those whose employment compels them to reside in the neighbourhood of the improvement.

It is clear that to displace a large number of persons, and then, perhaps years afterwards, provide accommodation less than that destroyed is not "rehousing."

"The net result," says the *Daily News* writer, "of some of the Council's schemes is that a district has become more overcrowded than ever. The people from the cleared slums have been driven to overcrowd the already overcrowded smaller tenements lying around, and a better off class of people from other districts have settled down on the cleared area.

On the Boundary Street area, artisans and warehousemen have come in from such outlying districts as Stratford, Leyton and Walthamstow.

Accommodation should be provided wherever possible before displacement, and then, even if the persons displaced do not move into the new buildings in any numbers, others in the neighbourhood may move into them, and thus make room elsewhere for those displaced.

The Council can buy sites under Part III. of the Housing Act and use them for rehousing purposes, and it has done so recently in connection with the Holborn to Strand Improvement. Parliament has facilitated this course by the provision in Mr. Chaplin's Act of 1900 as to the keeping of accounts of schemes carried out under two Parts of the Act. The special claim upon the Council of the people displaced, whose calling compels them to live in the particular neighbourhood, is manifest.

(3) *To promote greater economy in building and management so that the rents may be within the reach of poorer classes.*

Decent dwellings for the

The Council builds houses which it is said will last for 200 years, but their cost is such that rents have to be fixed

at high figures. The rents at Boundary Street vary from 5s. 9d. to 8s. for tenements of two rooms, and from 7s. 9d. to 10s. 6d. for three rooms. At Millbank the rents run from 7s. to 8s. 6d. for two rooms. Liverpool has built dwellings at 1s. a room and Birmingham cottage flats at 2s. 6d. a week, and although it may not be possible or desirable to follow these examples, it is imperative to reduce the cost of the Council's dwellings. The houseless Londoner wants a decent roof over his head, not a stylish dwelling which will last 200 years. The latter may be something for the Council to boast of, but it does not benefit the poor.

poor; not
stylish
houses
for well-
to-do
classes.

Business methods are wanted and no fads. For example, the Council's houses have in some cases cost more than they ought because the Works Department have exceeded the estimates. The extra cost has to come out of the tenant's rent. Why should the cause of housing be sacrificed to the Works Department?

No Radical
fads.

(4) *To maintain the general rule that building schemes should be such as to involve no charge on the ratepayers.*

This is the working rule which now obtains in the Council. Land bought under Part I. is written down from its commercial value to its housing value, and the difference is charged to the rate. Subject to that, the schemes have to show a return sufficient to meet the charges for sinking fund and interest, except in special cases; for example, where the Council is obliged to build on a particular site. Where the Council buys lands under Part III., apart from clearance schemes, the return must be sufficient to cover the charges in respect of the commercial value of the land and buildings.

The rate-
payers
protected
from loss.

(5) *To aim not at competition, but co-operation, with the Borough Councils, Industrial Dwellings' Companies, landowners and others, in order that all proper agencies may take part in*

supplying the pressing need of increased house room for the poor.

Co-operation with public and private enterprise.

The Council must conduct its operations with judgment, if it is not to defeat its own object, which is to promote the provision of adequate and healthy accommodation for the working people. It cannot itself erect all the houses needed for the overcrowded and ever-increasing population; the enormous capital which would be involved, and the weight of other duties would render such a task impossible, even if desirable. The greater part of the work must, therefore, be performed by private agencies, and if the Council, by entering the field as a builder of houses, were to discourage or lessen the activities of such agencies, its action would prejudice rather than advance the object in view.

But this result need not, it is believed, be feared if the Council (a) conducts its own building operations and general policy upon definite principles; (b) encourages the work of other agencies by seeking their co-operation.

What the Council might do.

Suppose, for example, the Council make these its aims—to house some of the poorer classes for whom little is done at present, to build where immediate relief would be afforded to badly congested districts, to buy sites in anticipation of extension of its tramway systems, with a view to future developments, and so forth. Aims such as these would not involve the mischief which might flow from casual and uncertain procedure. The Council can also minimise the possibility of such mischief and promote its main object by co-operating with other agencies:—

What the Borough Councils might be encouraged to do.

1. BOROUGH COUNCILS.—These bodies are the local health authorities, and have power to provide dwellings under Part III. within their respective boroughs. The County Council must keep in close touch with them in order to

prevent overlapping, and to take advantage of their local knowledge with reference to schemes affecting their boroughs. They might also undertake the management of dwellings erected by the Council.

2. INDUSTRIAL DWELLINGS COMPANIES.—The Council has now power to lease land, whether acquired under Part I. or Part III. The experiment should be tried of enlisting the co-operation of these companies, by inviting them to erect and manage dwellings upon sites leased to them by the Council upon conditions securing the proper user, repair and maintenance of the buildings. So far as the Council was able to get sites developed in this manner, it would free capital and energy of its own for other housing work. It would be both providing for the need and stimulating others to provide for it. The Council has also the power, which might be exercised, of lending money for the purposes of workmen's dwellings.

What industrial dwellings companies might do.

3. LANDOWNERS.—The Nightingale Street Scheme, 1899, is an instance of what can be done by co-operation with owners. Here the Council used its powers to acquire an insanitary area occupied by 576 persons of the working class, and handed over the property to a freeholder on his reimbursing the Council. The freeholder is erecting dwellings for the entire number of persons displaced, and providing a playground. The freeholder could not get possession of the property without the Council's aid, but the result of co-operation is that a slum will be removed and healthy dwellings provided without any cost to the public.

What landowners might do.

This precedent should be followed in other cases, and, if necessary, powers should be sought from Parliament to facilitate similar operations.

4. LOCOMOTION.—Increased means of locomotion will do much to relieve the congested districts.

LOCOMOTION.

THE adequate provision, and proper regulation and control of cheap and effective public locomotion, are matters of vital concern to all great urban communities. And nowhere in the world are they more important than in London, with its enormous population, its congested central district, and the gigantic area over which its suburbs and outlying towns extend. Several hundred thousand persons require to be brought into central London by train, tram and other means of transport every morning, and to be carried back before night. The comfort, the well-being, and the health, of the inhabitants of the Metropolis, and particularly of those who belong to the working classes, are involved in the manner in which this great traffic problem is solved.

The Progressives of the London County Council have endeavoured to claim for themselves a monopoly of interest in this question, and have attempted to pose as the special patrons and promoters of cheap public locomotion. At the same time, they have represented the Conservatives as indifferent to the subject, or actively hostile to the extension of the tramway system. This is entirely untrue. The Progressives have as little right to arrogate to themselves the credit for all recent improvements in Metropolitan passenger transport as they have to suggest that such improvements have been impeded or delayed by their opponents.

TRAMWAY POLICY.

The fact is, that the Progressives, according to their custom, have regarded the problem largely from the point of

view of politics and municipal socialism. They may be, as they profess, sincerely anxious to place better facilities in the way of working class travellers; but they are obviously quite as anxious to secure a large increase of municipal management and direct employment by the County Council. They have regarded private enterprise with undisguised aversion, and aim openly at getting all the tramways of London into their own hands and operating them themselves. One result would be that the Council would become a vast industrial concern, owning huge workshops and an immense amount of valuable plant, and employing an army of officials and labourers scattered all over the Metropolis. A business, comparable in its magnitude to that of one of the great railway companies, would be carried on by a committee of amateurs, more or less, under the influence of the votes of many thousands of their own servants.

CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

The Conservative members of the Council are not to be denounced as enemies of tramway progress because they have pointed out the dangers and drawbacks of this system. On the contrary, if their views had prevailed, London might have obtained electric traction as soon as the great provincial cities of England and Scotland, and might not even now be condemned, over the larger part of the county, to the obsolete method of horse traction for some time to come.

In their opinion, the object is not to add to the dignity or prestige of the County Council, but to serve the public convenience in the best and most economical fashion. They think, therefore, that *all* forms of public locomotion should be developed and encouraged. They do not wish to have a monopoly of tramways, to the exclusion of other vehicles, such

as omnibuses, which are certainly not likely to lose their usefulness in this age of motor development. Nor does the Conservative party desire to place the entire and exclusive management of the tramways in the hands of the Council. The Council is the "tramway authority" for London, and has now become by purchase the owner of nearly all the lines within the county. But it is not compelled to get them all under its own direct management, and it has probably lost time, and sacrificed economy and efficiency, in the effort to attain this end.

LEASING AND WORKING.

Practically no progress was made in the conversion of the old tramways during the first eleven years of the Council's existence. Those were the years in which England, outside the Metropolitan area, was being covered with a network of electric tram-lines, owing to the energetic operations of private companies. At the very gates of London, so to speak, the London United Tramways Company were laying down a fine system in the western suburbs, and had their lines opened and carrying crowds of appreciative passengers, long before there was a single electric car at work within the jurisdiction of the Council. There is little doubt that the activity of the companies, who would have been prepared to risk money on the conversion of the intra-metropolitan lines, was checked by the avowed hostility of the Council, and by the fear of obstruction and confiscatory measures on the part of the Progressive majorities.

The Conservatives, while readily admitting the advantages of municipal ownership of the tramways, held that some, at least, of the lines acquired, might well be leased to private companies instead of being, in all cases, directly operated by the Council.

As a matter of fact, the Conservative view has, so far, prevailed, and the more judicious Progressives are quite aware that they have been saved by the statesmanlike persistence of their opponents from the additional burden of liability, against which their "Finance Minister," Lord Welby, has constantly warned them.

While the volume of capital outlay on the Council's southern system is steadily rolling up, and the revenue prospects are doubtful, the northern lines, leased to a company, pay a substantial rent annually to the Council, which is now one of the steadiest and most valuable of its assets.

THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SYSTEMS.

Under the Tramways Act, 1870, the Council is empowered to purchase the street tramways of London at the expiration of twenty-one years in each case. This power of purchase has been exercised over $88\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the 115 miles of tramway in the County of London. Forty-eight miles are on the north of the Thames, and are leased to the North Metropolitan Company till 1910. The remaining 40 miles, formerly the property of the London Tramways Company, the South London Tramways Company, and the South Eastern Metropolitan Tramways Company, are worked by the Council itself.

The arrangement with the North Metropolitan Company was the result of the action of the Conservatives in the Council in 1895, and was carried in spite of the opposition of the more socialistic Progressives. It has proved satisfactory in many ways. The North Metropolitan Company sold, by agreement, to the Council at about £5,000 per mile of single track, which was considerably less than the Council was compelled

to pay under arbitration for a portion of the lines. The Company was induced to part with its property on these favourable terms, by the consideration that it was allowed to retain the working of the whole system, under a lease, till Midsummer, 1910, when the last portion of its lines becomes purchasable under the Act.

The arrangement has saved the Council a large excess capital outlay, and it has also averted the clumsy device, favoured by some of the Progressives, of working the lines by sections as they came into the hands of the Council. There is considerable public value in having a healthy rivalry between the two systems—that of the Council and that of the Companies—in the Metropolitan area.

The Progressives, in their zeal for municipal management, maintained that the lease would be a loss to the ratepayers, who would be deprived of a large prospective profit. It was their anticipation that the return on the capital sunk in the Southern lines would be much heavier than in the case of the Northern. But events have falsified their predictions. The Northern system has yielded the larger profit, and there can be no question that leasing has turned out a much better bargain for the ratepayers than direct working.

According to the accounts of the Highways Committee for 1902-3, the gross capital expenditure on the purchase of the Northern lines was £849,530 1s. 5d. The total rents (less tax and expenditure by the Council on collection and rent drawbacks) received from the North Metropolitan Tramways Company amounted to £74,764 10s. 5d. The interest and sinking fund payable on the capital amount to £36,970 10s. 1d. Thus there was a surplus of net profit on the lease for the year's working, which was carried to the appropriation account for the benefit of the ratepayers, of no less than £37,794 0s. 4d., or a return of over $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the capital

sum expended on the purchase of the Northern lines, after allowing for payment of interest and sinking fund charges. It is clear that the lease of the Northern lines has been undeniably a very profitable transaction for the ratepayers.

If we turn to the Southern lines, which are not leased but held and operated by the Council, we find that up to March 31st, 1903, the capital expended upon the undertaking amounted to no less than £1,533,379 19s. 9d. This included £345,374 8s. 6d. in respect of the cost of converting some of the lines to electricity. Deducting this sum from the total, and £28,916 12s. 2d., the proceeds of the sale of some of the horses and disused rolling stock, we have a capital of £1,159,088 19s. 1d. for the 40 miles of the Council's Southern system, which may be compared with £849,530 1s. 5d. for the 48 miles of its (leased) Northern system. The receipts on Revenue Account for the year 1902-3 amounted to £444,698 18s. 11d., and the expenses to £397,080 2s. 6d., leaving a sum of £47,618 16s. 5d. as the net profit on working. This sum was *insufficient to pay the interest and sinking fund*, which amounted to £49,869 13s. 3d., *leaving a deficiency amounting to* £2,250 16s. 10d., this being the actual loss on the working of the Southern lines during the year. In addition, there was an excess of expenditure on the "General Tramways Account" of the Council, mainly on Parliamentary and legal charges, of £5,855 13s. 6d. The Tramways Accounts, as presented by the Highways Committee in April, 1903, show a final appropriation of net revenue as follows:—

Balance brought forward from 1901-2	£	s.	d.
	181	16	5
<i>Add:—</i>			
Surplus profits from Northern system for year 1902-3 ..	37,794	0	4
<i>Less, deficiencies in other accounts, viz.:—</i>			
Southern system	£2,250	16	10
General account	5,855	13	6
	<hr/>		
	8,106	10	4
	<hr/>		
	£29,869	6	5
	<hr/>		

There was thus a total sum available for the relief of rates or other County purposes of nearly £30,000. *But this was entirely due to the £37,794 clear profit derived from the northern lease.* This alone saved the Council's tramway operations from being carried on *at a loss to the ratepayers.*

It is true that during the period under review, a considerable portion of the Council's Southern system was under reconstruction for electric traction, and the receipts from the main lines showed a falling off (no doubt due to this cause) of nearly £18,000 as compared with the receipts of the previous year. It would be fair to add this £18,000 to the credit side of the Southern revenue statement. But even in that case the Southern lines would show a net profit of only about £15,700, compared with the £37,794 derived from the rent of the Northern lines. If we take the year 1901-2, before the conversion to electricity was begun, we find the comparison to work out as follows:—

		Capital.				Net Profit.		
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Northern lines	..	848,884	16	1	..	39,156	5	9
Southern lines	..	915,677	5	8	..	9,062	0	1

The Highways Committee was able to hand over £45,000 in relief of the rates for the year. But, as the above figures show, three-quarters of this sum or more was derived from the Northern system. It is therefore obvious that the lease has been financially advantageous to the Council, and that by its means alone the tramway accounts have been able to show a profit during the past three years. The majority of the Council have, indeed, reason to be thankful to the Conservatives for insisting on the arrangement which has secured a steady source of income from the Northern lines to neutralise the loss and expense incurred in the electrification of the Southern tramways.

RESULT OF WORKING THE TWO SYSTEMS.

The following table gives, in round figures, the results over a series of years :—

Northern system—(Leased to Company).

		Capital expenditure.		Net profits.
		£		£
1898	..	799,476	..	49,000
1899	..	—	..	33,000
1900	..	817,239	..	39,000
1901	..	845,384	..	40,000
1902	..	848,884	..	39,000
1903	..	849,530	..	37,794

Southern system—(Worked by L.C.C.).

		Capital expenditure.		Net profit.
		£		£
1900	..	888,630	..	54,847
		(15 months' working.)		
		Proportion for 1 year—		43,876
1901	..	901,528	..	14,325
1902	..	896,971	..	9,062
1903	..	1,504,463		Deficit—2,350

Surplus profits on both systems paid to the relief of the rates :—

		£
1897-8	..	49,000
1898-9	..	39,592
1899-00	..	71,000
1900-1	..	69,000
1901-2	..	45,000
1902-3	..	20,000
		<hr/>
		£293,592
		<hr/>

ELECTRIC TRAMS.

The Conservatives have always supported the employment on the London tramways of the best modern methods of mechanical traction. But in view of the magnitude of the undertaking, and the absolute want of experience of the subject among the members and officials of the Council, they advised that the conversion should be gradual, and should, at first, take an experimental form. The system almost everywhere adopted in the United Kingdom, and in most Continental towns, is that of overhead transmission of the electric current by means of posts and wires, with trolley-poles on the cars. Convenient and economical as this method is, it has some drawbacks in the congested area of a great city, and there was a strong feeling in the Council, and among the local authorities, in favour of the underground "conduit" system, which dispenses with the standards and overhead wires and insulators. It was right to pay due deference to these views. But the Highways Committee of the Council, dominated by ambitious Progressive politicians, acted with unbusinesslike impetuosity. Under the Northern lease, the Council may, if it pleases, reconstruct the permanent way and convert it for electric traction, receiving from the Company a rent of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the cost of reconstruction, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the cost of machinery; and, in addition, the Council is to receive 80 per cent. of the net revenue, after allowing for 5 per cent. on the capital of the Company.

This, one would suppose, places the Council in a sufficiently favourable position. But the Progressive majority of the Highways Committee were anxious to get the whole Northern concern into their own hands, and induced the Council, as long ago as the 20th of November, 1900, to pass the following Resolution:—

That in view of the desirableness of no longer withholding from North and East London the advantages of electric tramway traction, and of the importance of providing a complete and united system of electric tramway inter-communication between the different parts of the Metropolis, the Highways Committee be instructed to ascertain from the North Metropolitan Tramways Company at what price they will surrender the lease now held from the Council, which expires in July, 1910.

As was pointed out by Conservative speakers and writers, this Resolution could only have been designed for electioneering purposes, in the hope of eliciting such a reply from the Company as would enable the Radicals to quote a fancy figure as the value of what they deemed the concession made by granting the lease. The Company, however, declined to name any price for the surrender of the lease, and the Council was thus saved from what might have been the disastrous, and would certainly have been the expensive, consequences of its precipitate action at the bidding of Radical party tacticians.

It was certainly fortunate that Mr. Benn and the Highways Committee could not get the Northern system into their hands. Had this been effected, it is highly probable that they would have committed the Council at once, without further inquiry, to the electrification of all its lines on both sides of the Thames, on the costly conduit system. As it was, they plunged hastily into a wholesale conversion on this system of the Southern lines. The Conservatives, while no less eager for mechanical traction than their opponents, pointed out that the conduit method was practically untried in Great Britain, and that the Council, with its lack of acquaintance with the whole subject, would do well to go to work, at first, in an experimental and tentative fashion. A short length of conduit line could be laid down and operated, and the results would not only give the Highways Committee and its officials some valuable experience, but would show how far the new system was suitable for general adoption.

If this course had been taken much money would have been saved. The Council would have discovered, what it has since learnt, that while the conduit is useful, and perhaps indispensable in some parts of the central area, there are large outlying districts, where the far cheaper and more rapidly-constructed overhead installation could be used without any serious disadvantage. The Progressives, however, relying on hasty calculations, and the reports of amateurish enthusiasts among their own members, actually seem to have believed that the conduit would prove very little dearer than the trolley. They induced the Council to authorise the conversion of their main lines from Westminster Bridge to Tooting, and those to Camberwell, New Cross and Greenwich, on the underground system. As none of the officers of the Council was competent to supervise this work, and ordinary English engineers and contractors had little knowledge of the conduit, it was deemed necessary to place it under the charge of a distinguished electrical expert, specially engaged on extravagant terms. The fees and commissions received by this eminent engineer amounted to no less than £15,000, before the Highways Committee came to the conclusion that the operations could be properly superintended by their own officers. The expert's remuneration was probably not excessive, having regard to his professional *status*; but the episode illustrates the thoughtless haste with which the Highways Committee set out upon its great undertaking. Had they acted with more forethought and deliberation, the engagement of the gentleman in question would have been superfluous.

As the conversion proceeded, the estimates on which it was based were found to have grossly understated the cost, and they had to be revised in an extraordinary fashion. The

original estimate for the reconstruction of the tramways between (a) Westminster Bridge Road and Upper Tooting Road; (b) Kennington Park Road and Blackfriars Road; and (c) St. George's Circus and Waterloo Road, amounted to £623,500. Under revision this was increased to the sum of no less than £981,497, a net increase of £357,997, or considerably more than 50 per cent. Mr. Benn has explained that the largest item in this increase was due to a change of plan, by which the generating stations, originally intended to be placed at Camberwell, were afterwards located at Greenwich, on land partly belonging to the Council. This involved an increased cost on building of about £170,000.

There is no doubt that the site finally chosen is superior to that originally adopted. But if the Highways Committee had made proper inquiries, in the first instance, they would have ascertained that Camberwell was a very unsuitable location for a central power station, and they might as well have chosen a position on the river at the outset. Similarly, £85,000 of the increased expenditure is put down to the cost of a car-shed at Clapham, which was not included in the original estimate. But as it appears that this car-shed is absolutely necessary for the working of the lines, it seems obvious that some provision should have been made for it. The fact remains that the Estimate, approved by the Council, in February, 1901, just before the last elections, was absurdly inadequate, and has already had to be exceeded, on only a portion of the Southern lines, by over 50 per cent. What would have been the extra cost, if the Progressives had been able to electrify the whole of the county lines, in the first flush of their enthusiastic ignorance, by the methods which have proved so much more expensive than they chose to anticipate?

CONDUIT AND TROLLEY.

The merits of the conduit system are obvious and are now very familiar to many thousands of Londoners who travel daily on the Council's cars. But, thanks to the energies of the London United Tramways Company and other companies, in various suburban districts, Londoners have also become acquainted with the trolley system, and they are constrained to admit that it is by no means so unsightly and objectionable as it was represented. The residents, in a considerable suburban area of Surrey and Middlesex, seem quite able to tolerate the trolley trams, which, moreover, do not seem to hurt the feelings of the people of Glasgow, Manchester, Dublin, Leeds, Birmingham and Brighton, not to mention such foreign cities as New York, Boston, Berlin, Vienna, Milan, Brussels, and Buda-Pesth. In those parts of the Metropolis where the streets are comparatively broad, the congestion of traffic less intense than in the central area, and where there are no historic or artistic architectural features to consider, there seems no good reason why the cheaper of the two systems should not be employed.

Very likely this conclusion would have been reached earlier, and some valuable time saved, but for the positive assurances of Progressive locomotion "experts," like Mr. Benn and Mr. Baker, that there would in reality be no great difference of cost between the two systems. It has now been proved that the difference is enormous. Even on Mr. Benn's own admission, as recorded in his evidence before the Royal Commission on London Locomotion, the conduit costs 33 per cent. per mile more than the trolley. But this percentage statement is misleading, because Mr. Benn takes in the cost of power stations, car-sheds, &c., which is the same, roughly speaking, for each system, and so reduces the actual proportionate excess per mile of track of the conduit.

In a Report presented by the Highways Committee to the Council, the average per single mile of conduit is estimated at £14,041, that of a single mile of trolley at £7,496. But this is to put the case too favourably for the conduit, since the trolley estimate is £1,500 per single mile higher than the actual expenditure on this system at Leeds, £1,196 higher than the cost at Liverpool, and between £600 and £800 per mile above that of Glasgow, Sheffield and Manchester. In Reports presented to the Highways Committee by the Engineer and Electrical Engineer, the excess cost of the conduit construction above that of the trolley has been estimated at from £7,000 to £10,000 per track mile, or £14,000 to £20,000 per street mile. However, taking the official figures, put forward by the Highways Committee, we get a difference in cost of £6,545 per mile of single track, or £13,090 per street mile of double track, in favour of the trolley. As there are at present, roughly, about 100 street miles of tramways in the County of London, we have a sum of at least £1,309,000 (probably more) as the extra expense of using conduit traction on the existing lines. But some 50 miles of new tramway are urgently required and must be completed at an early date. Taking the extra cost for these extensions we get:—

£13,090 per mile <i>excess</i> of conduit over trolley		
construction on 100 street miles	..	£1,309,000
<i>Add</i> half for 50 miles new lines	..	654,000
		<hr/>
Total <i>excess</i>	..	£1,963,000
		<hr/>

Or, say, TWO MILLIONS.

But Mr. Benn, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, suggested that ultimately the needs of the Metropolis would not be satisfied with less than 1,000 miles of tramway line. In that case, the excess cost to the ratepayers would work out at something not far short of Seven Millions sterling. In

addition, the conduit system is more expensive to maintain than the trolley, owing to the extra cost of cleaning, which is at least three times as great. Moreover, there are physical difficulties connected with bridges and tunnels and street widenings, which render the conduit construction impracticable, except at a prohibitive cost, in some parts of London.

The Progressive majority have had to admit the force of the considerations which they constantly repudiated when brought forward by the Conservatives, and are now only anxious to confine the conduit system within as narrow limits as their previous hasty action will allow. Instead of applying the conduit to the whole of the Northern lines, their latest plan is to use it only where the routes approach the termini in central London, leaving the remainder, including the long roads leading to the suburbs, to be dealt with by the alternative plan. Unfortunately, the Highways Committee had already committed itself in its haste with some of the local authorities, and will have to carry out its commitments. The result will be a patchwork arrangement, a mixture of trolley and conduit, in which there is no intelligible scheme. The posts and wires are scrupulously withheld from business thoroughfares in poor localities, while they are to be insisted upon in neighbourhoods where there is expensive residential property along the line of route. Thus we get the rather absurd anomaly of overhead wires along the Hampstead Road and Stamford Hill, while the conduit will be provided—at double the cost—for Kingsland Road and Hackney Road. Obviously, if the trolley will do for the first-named set of thoroughfares, it might be equally well applied in the others. And so it could be, but for the recklessness of the Progressive majority in embarking hastily upon wholesale conduit construction, before all the factors in the problem had been fully considered.

After covering a large part of South London with conduit tramway, the Council, in December, 1903, agreed to purchase the London Southern Company's line from Norwood and Camberwell to Vauxhall, but only on condition that the local authorities would consent to the installation of overhead traction. There seems no particular reason why Lambeth must have the poles and wires, while Deptford is favoured with the underground cables: no reason beyond the fact that the Highways Committee is frightened at the vista before it, and feels constrained (with an election in sight) to abandon its policy of extravagant expenditure. The Conservatives have certainly no desire to interfere with this salutary repentance. But it would have been unnecessary, if a proper scheme for the conversion of the tramways had been thought out at the beginning, and if the relative costs, merits and possibilities, of the two systems had been really understood, before the Council plunged, inadequately informed and imperfectly equipped, into the undertaking. When it is remembered that the total capital expenditure involved in the conversion of all the existing tramways to electric traction, the construction of new lines already authorised, and the carrying out of the proposals for other new lines before the Council, would be not less than nine and a half millions sterling, the necessity for proceeding with the utmost caution and economy must be obvious.

FAILURE OF ELECTRIC TRAMS IN SOUTH LONDON.

The *Evening News* of January 1st, 1904, stated that:—

SOUTH LONDONERS FIND THE NEW TRAMCARS WORSE THAN THE HORSE CARS.

South Londoners are up in arms at the working of the London County Council's tramway system.

When the lines to Tooting were "electrified," they looked forward to getting into the City, and home again, in much shorter time than by the old horse cars,

and because of this advantage, many persons even came from other districts to live on the south side of the river. Now, alas ! the new electric cars are running slower than even the horse cars did.

Some time ago it was suggested that a quick service of express cars should be run from Balham, Tooting and Clapham Common, to the different bridges between the hours of seven and ten in the morning, and that a similar service for the home journey should be instituted between four and seven in the evening. This would have been a great gain to the many thousands who go to their work and return home at these hours.

MORE NEED, LESS SPEED.

The Council has made a remarkable response to this. The order has gone forth that at these very hours, when the traffic is heaviest and speed is most desirable, only half power is to be used on the system. The consequence is that the journey from Clapham Station to Blackfriars now takes thirty-eight minutes—longer than was the case with the much-despised horse cars.

An explanation which cannot be called satisfying, was given by an official. "The supply of our electrical energy," he said, "is limited, as it is really only a temporary one. Arrangements have been made with the South London Electric Light Corporation to supply the energy, and it will be some time before the generating station at Greenwich is completed, and the Council can itself supply all the electricity it needs. At present we have to use half power at certain times of the day in order to effect a saving of energy."

Regular travellers cannot, however, understand why half power is not used between ten o'clock and four, or late in the evening, instead of during the hours when the greatest possible number of passengers are inconvenienced. The tramway officials evidently want stirring up.

For this failure and mismanagement the Progressives are to blame. They have "rushed" the work and made a muddle of it.

THE COUNCIL AND THE LOCAL VETO.

The County Council is the tramway authority for the whole of the County of London, since the Metropolitan Boroughs have no powers with regard to public locomotion. But under the Standing Orders of the two Houses of Parliament, while the County Council is able to prevent any tramway project of a private company from being brought before the Legislature, the Borough Councils can, if they please, exercise

a similar veto against any Tramway Bill of the County Council. The arrangement has its inconveniences, and there is much to be said for constituting a tribunal or board to which all projects for public locomotion in the Metropolitan area, whether concerned with tube railways, subways, or tramways, should be submitted. Such a body might be able to deal with the problem of London passenger transport as a whole, to bring the administrative county into close touch with the outer areas, and to apply general and systematic treatment throughout the entire region.

This is one of the questions specially included in the reference to the Royal Commission on London Locomotion, appointed by His Majesty's Government in the session of 1903. Much valuable evidence has been laid before the Commission by the Engineer, the Architect, the Valuer, and other officials of the Council. The views of the Progressive majority have been stated to the Commissioners by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Benn. While they do not object to a tribunal, which might supervise other forms of locomotion, these gentlemen insist that the tramway rights of the Spring Gardens authority must be sacred. Their veto against the private companies must remain untouched, but, on the other hand, the veto of the Boroughs is to be removed. Mr. Benn was subjected to a somewhat severe cross-examination by several of the Commissioners on this point. But he declined to budge from his position, which is part of the Progressive municipal creed. The London County Council is to be autocratic and omnipotent where tramways are concerned.

The Metropolitan Borough Councils are, however, naturally disinclined to abandon their veto on tramway legislation, unless their interests are efficiently safeguarded in other ways—as they might be by the proposed tribunal or standing

commission. After all, it is through their streets that the tramways must run, and their constituents are closely affected, both as ratepayers and frontagers. A new tramway, or the electrification of an old one, usually involves street widenings. The London County Council refuses to pay the whole cost of these works, even when they are required solely for tramway purposes. On the plea that they are local improvements (though the locality may not want them), they demand a contribution of one-third of the cost from the local authority. The result has been a series of undignified squabbles, in which each party, no doubt, tries to "squeeze" the other. But the Borough Council is at a great disadvantage in these negotiations, and without the veto would be almost powerless. It can only protect itself against a demand that is extortionate by refusing to consent to the introduction of a Tramway Bill, unless the promoters will meet it fairly. The method is clumsy ; but it should not be given up, unless there is some security that the County Council will not be permitted to carry out its projects without due regard to local rights and sentiment, or to lighten its own swollen budget by throwing upon particular districts expenditure which ought to be distributed over the whole of the metropolitan area.

OTHER FORMS OF LOCOMOTION.

It must not be forgotten, as we have said, that while tramways are exceedingly valuable they are not the only means of public locomotion in London ; other facilities are being, or should be, further developed, and the Conservatives of the County Council, unlike the Progressives, have no desire to use municipal resources to crush or enfeeble private enterprise. It is much to be regretted that the magnificent waterway through the heart of the Metropolis is no longer employed for passenger transport. The last company

which carried on the service has given up business, so that during the past summer, for the first time for over half a century, there have been no public passenger steamers plying on the Thames. The defects of the service and the age and slowness of the boats had been notorious for some time past, and the Council has frequently had before it the project of establishing municipal steamboats. The company contended that they could do all that was necessary for the public accommodation, if the Council would acquire the piers and landing stages from the Thames Conservancy, and other proprietors, and throw them open free of dues. The Council could hardly be blamed for declining to place this charge upon the rates, without some security that the result would really be beneficial to the public rather than profitable to a trading company.

On the other hand, it is doubtful whether a steamboat service could be carried on by the Council itself without a loss to the ratepayers. On the 31st of July, 1900, the Council resolved to apply to Parliament for power to acquire and work the piers and landing stages, and to purchase and run a fleet of steamers of much superior design, capacity and speed, to those then on the river. The Bill was, however, thrown out by the Parliamentary Committee, presumably because its financial basis was not considered sound.

There is no doubt that the venture must be highly speculative. On the scheme presented a revenue of something like £140,000 per annum would be required to cover expenses, pay interest on capital, and provide a sinking fund. To earn such a sum, something like 33 or 34 million passengers per annum would have to be carried at average fares of 1d. That is, each of the 40 boats of the proposed fleet would be required to carry daily *throughout the year* between 2,000 and

3,000 passengers. Considering that the river service, at any rate above London Bridge, would be almost limited to the summer months, it is very doubtful whether there could possibly be anything like this opening for traffic. The Rivers Committee have prepared another Steamboats Bill for the session of 1904, with the capital expenditure somewhat reduced, and arrangements made for allowing through tickets between the steamers and the tramways. But the enterprise, considering all the conditions and the climatic disadvantages of London, can hardly be regarded as safe enough to be undertaken by a heavily burdened municipal body, unless it is really demonstrated that it will not be attempted by private agency.

At any rate, the inadequate piers and landing stages, and their insufficient approaches, should be thrown open and improved, and several new piers established. If this were done, it is still possible that private enterprise might provide an efficient fleet of passenger steamers, under arrangement with the Council, and manage them more economically than a public body, which is entirely inexperienced in the conduct of an enterprise of this kind, and which has its hands full of other matters. Municipal control could be claimed for the steamers in return for landing facilities, &c., and there would, of course, be a maximum schedule of rates; but actual municipal management of the fleet would be better avoided, unless there is no other alternative.

TUBE RAILWAYS.

During the past few years underground railways running in deep-level tunnels have been established in Glasgow, and have enjoyed a large and increasing measure of popularity. After the success of the Central London Railway, many

other schemes were conceived by various financiers; large capital sums were offered for public subscription, and the subsoil of the Metropolis seemed likely to be honeycombed by a whole network of "tubes," planned with more regard to the interests of their promoters than to those of the public. Many of these competing and conflicting schemes were authorised before the importance of the whole subject was realised. It is to be regretted that the Council did not make serious representations to Parliament and the Government at an earlier stage.

However, in the session of 1902, various Bills, then before Parliament, were ordered to be submitted to a Joint Committee, so as to ascertain whether they could not be dealt with on uniform and systematic principles. The question was too large to be disposed of in a single session. Several of the more doubtful schemes were condemned by the Joint Committee, while some of the others were amalgamated. The greater portion of the underground railway system of London will henceforth be controlled by a single financial group, which also has close connections with the companies working the tramways in the western suburbs outside the county. It is obvious that the whole position is somewhat unsatisfactory from the public point of view, and for this reason, among others, the Government decided last session to appoint the Royal Commission on London Locomotion, which is inquiring into all forms of passenger transport, both within the county area and in "Greater London."

It is to be hoped that the report of this Commission will make some useful recommendations, with the object of introducing unity into the chaos of authorities and conflicting jurisdictions which conduct or supervise London locomotion. And it may also be hoped that the result will not be prejudiced

by the obstinate refusal of the County Council to abate one jot or tittle of its assumed prerogatives as the supreme tramway authority.

SUBWAYS.

An alternative to the deep-level "tube" railway is the "shallow tunnel," or underground tram subway, immediately beneath the surface of the roadway. This system is being adopted in Boston, New York, Paris, and other cities. It has the advantage of dispensing with lifts, since the station can be reached by a short flight of steps from the street pavements, and it can take the ordinary tramway rolling-stock and connect directly with the surface cars. The subways can also carry all electric wires, drain pipes, water mains, &c., so that the necessity for constantly opening up the surface of the roadway would be avoided. The County Council has decided to carry the Northern tramways from the present terminus in Theobald's Road, by a subway through Southampton Row and the new Kingsway, under the Strand, to a point near Waterloo Bridge, with the idea of eventually connecting with the Southern system, whenever Parliament shall allow a tramway to be laid along the Victoria Embankment and across Waterloo Bridge.

The cost, and the practical difficulties of dealing with private subsoil rights, will make it extremely difficult to construct many of these subways under existing thoroughfares; but provision should be made for them in planning out new streets, and particularly in forming those wide arterial roads from the central districts to the suburbs, which would provide the most effectual permanent relief for the traffic congestion of the Metropolis. Broad, radiating avenues, with their surface free for motors, omnibuses, cabs, waggons, carts and bicycles, and with fast subway trams underground,

would do more than anything else to solve the problems of congestion, locomotion, and the housing of the working classes. A comprehensive process of "Hausmannization" of London is, perhaps, no longer possible ; but the Council might have done more in the way of drawing broad roads, with valuable new frontages, through back streets and slum property, instead of spending enormous sums on partial and inadequate widenings of over-crowded main thoroughfares. They might have adopted the policy which, in the past, created Oxford Street and Regent Street, Portland Place, Victoria Street, Westminster, and Shaftesbury Avenue. The Council has hardly attempted anything of the kind on a large scale, with the exception of the ambitious reconstruction between the Strand and Holborn. In this respect the much-decried Metropolitan Board of Works exhibited more originality and a truer conception of the needs of London than its successors.

OMNIBUSES.

The Progressives have hardly concealed their hostility to the omnibuses. It is their openly expressed aspiration that their tramways may "run the 'buses off the streets," pending which consummation they would be very glad to go into the omnibus business themselves, with the ratepayers' money behind them. The Conservatives, on the other hand, recognise that the omnibus companies have given Londoners an excellent public service, as well managed and convenient as anything to be found anywhere. They do not consider that there is any necessary rivalry between the two methods of conveyance. The electric tramways will be of the utmost value in transporting passengers over comparatively long distances at a rapid pace ; but for short journeys, with frequent stoppages, the omnibuses will still be required. And as the horses are gradually superseded by electric or petroleum motors, the

'buses will be more easily handled ; they will be able to carry a larger number of persons on each car at reduced fares ; and they will continue to be a most useful element in London locomotion, if allowed fair play and not stifled by administrative competition.

For these reasons the Conservatives do not regret that the Progressive attempts to run County Council omnibuses have been defeated. When the lines of the Southern Tramway Companies were purchased, the Council took over from these Companies certain "feeder" omnibuses, used to carry passengers across Westminster and Waterloo Bridges. But they also bought new vehicles and proceeded to run a regular line of London County Council omnibuses along the Strand. The omnibus proprietors brought an action to decide whether the Council was not exceeding its powers. On April 6th, 1900, judgment was given to the effect that the action of the Council was *ultra vires*, and that it had no legal power to run omnibuses. Here the matter might well have rested. But the Highways Committee insisted on wasting the rate-payers' money on a series of appeals, combined with ineffectual attempts to gain authority from Parliament for their omnibus enterprises.

The omnibus proprietors sent a most influential deputation to the Highways Committee and offered, if the Council would abandon its application to Parliament, to take over the Council's omnibuses, to run them without any increase of fares, and to provide an adequate service over the various bridges. The Conservatives strongly urged that this offer should be accepted and further expense avoided.

The Council, however, at the instance of the Progressive Highways Committee, decided to go on with the litigation.

The case reached the House of Lords in the summer of 1903, and final judgment was given against the Council, who were ordered to discontinue the service. Thus, at a great and needless cost, it has been demonstrated that this particular kind of municipal trading is illegal, and that the Council will not be allowed to supersede private companies, against whom no complaint of inefficiency has been made, and who have at stake a large capital usefully employed for the general benefit of the community. The whole transaction—against which at every stage the Conservatives strongly protested—is another example of the misguided ambition of the Progressives to enlarge the functions of the Council beyond the ample limits assigned to them by the Legislature.

STREET IMPROVEMENTS.

Some day it will be brought home to the people of London how much the advancement of their city has been handicapped by the extremist views put forward by the Progressives in the early days of the County Council.

When that day comes, it will be seen that nohow has London suffered more than in the matter of street improvements, and in the failure to tackle, judiciously, the problem of congestion.

For congestion is the one overwhelming bane of great cities which have outgrown their communications, and which are compelled to rely upon the narrow, crooked streets of a past civilisation. It is a trouble which is ever with us, and which requires sleepless attention.

Let us consider all it means. It goes much further than what can be remedied by working men's trains and tramways, for it strikes at the very root of *profitable trade* and *cheap living*. For both of these—and London cannot exist a day without both—free and speedy communication is vital.

To take an hour to compass a distance which, but for congestion, could be easily covered in half the time, is waste of man, of motive power and of material. It is also waste of

money. It makes long distances prohibitive ; it enhances, to an absurd extent, the value of central sites, and it militates against that dispersal of varying industries over a wide area, which, from the point of view of light and air, and health and wealth, is to the advantage of all classes of the community.

Now there can be nothing which more necessarily falls among the duties of a great central controlling authority than the obligation to do its very utmost to combat this difficulty, and to open the road for all and every kind of wayfarer and vehicle. And there were none of its duties which the late Metropolitan Board of Works, the predecessors of the County Council, took more seriously to heart. We are so accustomed to hear the Radical party condemning, root and branch, that Board and all its ways, that it is interesting to note how well in that respect it succeeded.

It came into existence in 1855 ; it died in 1889. In those thirty odd years, besides innumerable small jobs, it carried the following to completion :—

Shaftesbury Avenue	Union Road
Northumberland Avenue	Charing Cross Road
Theobald's Road	Gray's Inn Road
High Street, Islington	Clerkenwell Road
Southwark Street	Tooley Street
Garrick Street	Commercial Road
High Street, Shoreditch	Great Eastern Street
Queen Victoria Street	Marshalsea Road.

Last, but not least, the Board had the courage to carry out what had often been mooted, the Embankments on the side of the river. These magnificent thoroughfares added

three-and-a-third miles of wide roadway to the communications of London.

Many of their schemes were ideal. They opened up London. With the Board it was seldom a question of pulling down new buildings only to re-erect them ten feet further back, at enormous expense—a method of economic waste which can benefit nobody except the builders. Their policy was to create new routes of traffic, and turn foul slums into valuable frontages. Working with imagination, they were prepared to take advantage of all up-to-date requirements; and it is only by new streets, never by simple widenings, that we can arrange the system of tubes and subways, and drainage, and innumerable wire connections which are necessities of modern civilisation.

Besides all these completed works, it left a goodly heritage of works in progress to be finished by its successors. The most notable of these is Rosebery Avenue.

Let any man who remembers London of old imagine what its state would have been to-day had not these great improvements been made.

And for the Progressive party, what is their record? They have ruled at Spring Gardens for nearly half as long a time, and all that they have either commenced or completed is within the memory of everybody. The greater portion of it is still behind the hoardings. This must not be put down to the fault of those who sit on the Conservative side. It must not even be reckoned up against that special department of the Council, which is called the "Improvements Committee." This most unfortunate result is the direct outcome of the exploitation of certain planks of the Progressive platform.

First and foremost of all was the attack on land and all property. In the early days of the Council, the Radical Left ran riot. "Betterment" and "Taxation of Ground Values" was the somewhat nebulous creed of those who pulled the strings, and until these difficult questions had been worn threadbare, they called a halt in all matters of street improvements.

It would be impossible to describe the result better than by quoting some paragraphs in the "History of London Street Improvements," printed by order of the Council in February, 1898. Much may be read between the lines—

The Council accordingly resolved to postpone all new loans for permanent improvements which could be postponed without grave inconvenience, "until Parliament should have provided that the burden of all loans for such improvements should fall upon such persons as the law should hereafter direct, all private contracts to the contrary notwithstanding." The Improvements Committee, being of opinion that many of the proposed improvements under consideration were of pressing necessity, and were such as could not be postponed without grave inconvenience, continued to submit proposals to the Council for adoption, but all the schemes, with one or two exceptions, were referred back to the Committee. Again and again the Committee brought up to the Council various suggested improvements, and time after time the Council felt compelled, in the absence of new sources of revenue, to refrain from adopting the Committee's recommendations. **Notwithstanding these serious discouragements, the Committee still endeavoured to diligently and faithfully discharge the duties imposed upon it.**

A truly damning indictment of Progressive (!) methods. And so the precious years went by. It was the time of great building developments: leases were falling in on every side, and chances were let slip which cannot come again for three generations. But the Progressives chose to put their politics before their municipal responsibilities, with the result that few improvements were undertaken, that the congestion grew and grew, and that the unfortunate Council rapidly became an

object of suspicion to those whom it was its first duty to conciliate.

Great improvements can, of course, always be made by compulsory purchase, but they can be made with infinitely greater ease by friendly bargaining, and it will be many years before the Council lives down the far-reaching results of the great blunder it made when it allowed itself to be set up as the foe of property.

Poor London is the victim.

Then we come to the controversy which culminated in the Progressives laying down the law—"No tramways, no improvements." Things might have been different had their desire to run omnibuses been successful; but when, after considerable waste of money, that endeavour to practice Municipal Socialism was definitely decided against them, they seem to have made up their minds that they need consider nothing beyond their own tramway routes. Out of tramways, more especially if they could get their wide roadway for next to nothing—an advantage which they would indignantly refuse to any company—they hoped to be able to make a profit, to the great glory of their fetish of municipal trading. And why should they do anything to assist old-established and successful rivals? But, from the point of view of the public, which travels not only in tramways, but on foot, by omnibus, cab and carriage, who send goods and receive goods by van and cart, and whose very existence depends on free and fast locomotion, is this either fair or wise? Again and again have the Council declared that the condition of the southern end of Hampstead Road was a scandal and dangerous to life, and that its widening was an "urgently necessary London improvement." But the day came last spring, when Mr. Benn led the Progressive party into the lobby against all their pledges and in

opposition to the report of the Improvements Committee. Once more the scapegoat of party politics, and deserted by his Radical colleagues, an unfortunate Chairman of that Committee had to look to the Conservatives for his sole support.

Mr. Benn's extravagant views on a tramway system, and his painful efforts to produce figures showing that municipal trading pays, put a heavy burden on the Improvements Committee. For with them lies the payment of the piper, and they have to negotiate with the aggrieved borough council at whose head the pistol is held.

If the Conservatives were returned to power, they would endeavour to make friends with everybody, and to work in combination with all whose help could be brought into line for the good of London. It is not necessary to think that His Majesty's Government is the foe of London, or that it has appointed a Commission to consider the whole question of London traffic in a spirit unfriendly to the County Council.

In conclusion, we, who look for an improved London, hold that the Progressive party started on the wrong lines, wasted precious money, and even more precious time, and most unnecessarily created an atmosphere of jealousy and distrust. Coming into a great position with the unreasoning zeal of people, who thought it was their mission to reform they knew not what, they have picked a quarrel with every public body, from a borough council to the House of Lords. And they have, most unfortunately, put against them everybody who has anything to lose.

No policy could be more fatal to street improvements.

The paramount necessity of these cannot be better stated than in the words of one of the oldest and most convinced Radicals of this country —

In a report made to the Council in July, 1892, the then Chairman of the Improvements Committee (Mr. Frederic Harrison), in advocating the construction of a new street from Holborn to the Strand, expressed the opinion that a “loss day by day of ten to fifteen minutes, in the traffic between two great thoroughfares in London, may amount to a permanent tax of a farthing in the £ on the rateable value of the County.”

Conservative policy.

The Conservative policy is to adopt the principles which guide practical men in their private business. Large works should be carried out in succession, not simultaneously. This economises the powers of valuable officers; it makes finance easier, and, a matter of no small importance, does not disturb all at once the trade of the City, but affords men more opportunities of moving into new premises. The Conservatives would carry out various improvements in the order of their urgency, regardless of political considerations. They believe that for a large improvement a comprehensive recoupment scheme is the best method; while, for smaller improvements, a reasonable contribution from the Borough Council especially benefited will often, in practice, be found easier, better and more just than a “betterment area.”

Tramways.

In the next few years a good deal of street widening may have to be carried out, in connection with tramway extension. The Conservatives, however, would not make the mistake of rushing forward imperfect and ill-considered schemes, still less would they force them upon unwilling districts. They would, on the contrary, carefully think out all proposals in conference with the Borough Councils, and would endeavour to carry them out in concert with the local authorities and with due regard to local sentiment, adopting the wise policy of moving along the lines of least resistance.

RESULT OF DELAYING IMPROVEMENTS.

The two cases in which estimates have been prepared of the cost of delaying works are those of the Strand widening between the churches and the Tottenham Court Road (Bozier's Court) scheme. The figures in the former case were as follows :—

Estimated cost in 1889	..	..	..	..	about £400,000
„	„	when sanctioned by			
		Parliament in 1897			569,130
					<hr/>
Cost of delay	..	..	..		£169,130
					<hr/>

The cost of widening Wellington Street, by setting back the western side, was estimated at £34,700. The Council, on 26th June, 1894, declined to withdraw the condition as to betterment, and the arrangement with the Duchy of Lancaster accordingly fell through. The improvement must be undertaken sooner or later, and new leases have since been granted, which must greatly increase the cost.

TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, AT BOZIER'S COURT.

In July, 1891, when the Improvements Committee first recommended the Council to apply to Parliament for powers, the estimated cost was £50,900.

In February, 1897, when the Council's Bill was submitted to Parliament, the estimated cost was £53,860, showing an increase of nearly six per cent.

WESTMINSTER IMPROVEMENT SCHEME.

Again, in the case of the Westminster scheme, the valuer advised the Committee that if the improvement were delayed for one year, the cost would be increased by at least £78,000.

Dates when the scheme of the Improvements Committee was opposed in the Council :—

27th June, 1899.	
4th July „	Resumed debate.
17th October, 1899.	
24th „ „	Resumed debate.
20th March, 1900.	
24th July „	

Statement showing the actual or estimated net cost to the Council of county improvements, sanctioned and undertaken by the Council under special statutory powers, and the amount of contributions promised by the Council towards the cost of minor and local improvements during each financial

year from March, 1899, to December 1903; and the estimated net cost to the Council of county improvements, in respect of which statutory powers are being sought:—

Year of Council's sanction.	Actual or estimated net cost to the Council of county improvements sanctioned and undertaken by the Council under statutory powers.	Estimated net cost to the Council of county improvements in respect of which Parliamentary powers are being sought.	Contributions promised by the Council towards the cost of local improvements.	Total of columns 1, 2 and 3.	Total for each of the five Councils.
	1	2	3		
THE FIRST COUNCIL, from March, 1889, to March, 1892.					
1889-90 ..	£ 1,560	£ —	£ 11,525 s. d. 0 0	£ 13,085 s. d. 0 0	£ s. d.
1890-91 ..	155,127	—	4,781 13 4	159,908 13 4	
1891-92 ..	53,426	—	44,400 0 0	97,826 0 0	
	210,113	—	60,706 13 4	270,819 13 4	270,819 13 4
THE SECOND COUNCIL, from March, 1892, to March, 1895.					
1892-93 ..	396,205	—	14,127 10 0	410,332 10 0	
1893-94 ..	7,500	—	23,090 11 8	30,590 11 8	
1894-95 ..	6,845	—	20,450 0 0	27,295 0 0	
	410,550	—	57,668 1 8	468,218 1 8	468,218 1 8
THE THIRD COUNCIL, from March, 1895, to March, 1898.					
1895-96 ..	450,182	—	104,957 16 2	555,160 16 2	
1896-97 ..	763,805	—	257,141 19 11	1,020,946 19 11	
1897-98 ..	264,487	—	46,555 18 4	311,042 18 4	
	1,478,474	—	408,676 14 5	1,887,150 14 5	1,887,150 14 5
THE FOURTH COUNCIL, from March, 1898, to March, 1901.					
1898-99 ..	943,700	—	96,533 17 3	1,040,233 17 3	
1899-1900	1,455,700	—	171,209 6 9	1,626,909 6 9	
1900-01 ..	451,785	—	195,984 11 5	647,769 11 5	
	2,851,185	—	363,727 15 5	3,314,912 15 5	3,314,912 15 5

Year of Council's sanction.	Actual or estimated net cost to the Council of county improvements sanctioned and undertaken by the Council under statutory powers.	Estimated net cost to the Council of county improvements in respect of which Parliamentary powers are being sought.	Contributions promised by the Council towards the cost of local improvements.	Totals of columns 1, 2 and 3.	Total for each of the five Councils.
	1	2	3		

THE FIFTH COUNCIL, from March, 1901, to December, 1903.

	£	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1901-02 ..	543,938	—	117,426 2 8	661,364 2 8	
1902-03 ..	*61,735	232,950	51,314 10 0	345,999 10 0	
March-Dec. 1903	—	—	19,014 16 9 (Up to Dec. 9th.—Minutes, 1903, p. 2,051)		
	605,673	232,950	187,855 9 5	1,007,363 12 8	1,007,363 12 8
Grand Totals	5,555,995	232,950	1,078,634 14 3		6,948,464 17 6

* The Council has obtained power by the London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Act, 1902, for the execution of three other improvements estimated to cost £370,950 net, but the Council has not yet decided to exercise the statutory powers. [L.C.C. Minutes, July 21st, 1903, p. 1,232.]

THE WORKS DEPARTMENT.

The Radical Progressive party, in pursuance of its policy of Municipal Socialism, took advantage of the unfair conditions imposed upon contractors by the Council in 1892, to propose the institution of municipal workshops.

On May 27th, 1892, on the motion of Mr. Burns, the Council adopted and referred to a committee, this resolution :—

That all contractors be compelled to sign a declaration that they pay the trades union rate of wages, and observe the hours of labour and conditions recognised by the trades unions in the place or places where the contract is executed.

This literally meant that the trades unions alone should fix the wages to be paid by the contractors. The labour clauses introduced into the form of contract adopted by the Council were so distinctly unfair, that leading contractors would not submit tenders. This abstention led to the unfounded charge that there was “a ring” of contractors, and the fact, that certain tenders exceeded the estimates afforded the necessary excuse for establishing, in November, 1902, a Works Department.

As Lord Farrer (then Sir T. H. Farrer, Bart.) pointed out, in an able memorandum on the subject, by its action the Council was—

Therefore, committed to the policy of doing its own work and erecting its own buildings without the intervention of a contractor, and it has been driven into this course, not only by *a priori* consideration of expediency, or by socialist theories of municipal action, but by its own previous dealings with contractors' wages, which had made it impossible for contractors to tender except at an exorbitant price.

Instead of beginning on a small scale, and extending operations as experience was gained, a large central establishment and workshops were got together, and the supervision of the Department was entrusted to a Committee of twenty-three members, mostly amateurs, who invited as much work as possible from the Council, at a time when, according to the Comptroller, neither the establishment, the premises, nor the organisation was ready to cope with it.

Nevertheless, when the Department had to explain a considerable excess of expenditure over the estimates, the excuse was tendered that the premises were insufficient for the work thrust upon them.

OBJECTS OF THE DEPARTMENT.

The three main objects which the Progressives urged would be gained by establishing a Works Department were:— (1) Better work ; (2) Higher pay and shorter hours of labour for workmen ; (3) saving of the contractors' profit of ten per cent.

EARLY FAILURES.

The translation of theory into practice is never an easy task ; and in the initial stages of any organisation, it is good defence against criticism to plead the natural disabilities which attend every experiment. Therefore, the early failures of the Department did not call for wholesale condemnation. But eleven years have elapsed since Progressive theory changed, as by a rub of Aladdin's lamp, into a huge municipal works dépôt—a period ample enough to prove its wisdom or folly. Three years passed, and the results were not those anticipated by the Progressives ; nevertheless, Mr. John Burns then described the state of things as—

The beginning of greater success in the municipal socialism the Council has done so much to justify and realise.

But Mr. Dickinson, the Progressive leader, could only hope that—

As the organisation perfected, the financial gain would be greater.

It was hoped, in fact, that the future would atone for the shortcomings of the past.

“COOKING THE ACCOUNTS.”

The organisation was “perfected.” At the end of 1896, the Comptroller brought to notice a series of grave irregularities in the book-keeping of the Department. A Special Committee of Inquiry was thereupon appointed, with two expert assessors and an accountant and an architect of high standing, to investigate the whole system and methods of the works management.

It is unnecessary to refer to the false entries in the accounts, save to state that their object was not to misappropriate money, but to veil the excessive cost of certain works by transferring expenditure incurred on them to the account of other work which, being within the estimate, could bear a little fictitious loading.

The gravity of the offence lay in the fact that it was a deliberate attempt to deceive the Council and the public as to the real working of the Department. At the same time, it was a clear admission that the Department had failed.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

The investigation led to the dismissal of the manager, and to important changes in the control of the Works

Department. The Radical majority, on Report of the Committee of Inquiry, presented a report with recommendations, and the Conservative minority did the same.

The reports agreed that, by amendment of the labour clauses in the standard form of contract, the door should be re-opened to the best class of contractor. The right of inspection of accounts, accordingly, was limited to the wage and time-sheets ; and in place of the stipulation that the rates of wages should be those settled by one party to the bargain, the basis was in future to be the rate agreed upon between associations of employers and trades unions, and in practice obtained.

As regards the future management of the Department, the majority report suggested a Board composed of the Chairmen of the Finance and Chief Executive Committees, eight in number. But, on the motion of a Conservative, it was resolved that the manager of works should stand in the position of a contractor to the various Committees having work to be executed, whilst the financial control of the operations should be vested in the Finance Committee. The arrangement was proposed as a temporary measure only, in view of the approaching election of 1898 ; but the Radical majority, in spite of their regret at the abolition of the old Works Committee—often expressed by the Labour Bench—allowed the Department to be conducted, for five years, on the lines adopted in 1897.

The Department, however, became so disorganised that the manager retired, and in March, 1902, the Council decided to reconstitute a Works Committee, to which is referred the carrying into execution of all works which the Council resolves to execute by direct employment of labour.

THE FIRST OBJECT.

The first main aim of the system of direct employment of labour was to secure better work than could be done by the contractors. The conclusion of the expert, Mr. Grunning, who was called in by the Council at the special inquiry of 1896 into the management of the Works Department, was that---

On the whole, I had no doubt that all buildings, whether executed by contractors, or Works Department, are structurally sound and substantially and well built.

This statement was corroborated by Sir Alexander Binnie, the Engineer, and by Mr. Blashill, the Architect, to the Council, who both stated that they were unable to draw any distinction as to quality between the work done by the Works Department and contractors.

BAD WORK.

With regard to West View Cottages, one of the early works of the Department, Mr. Grunning says—

The joinery is very inferior, certainly the worst I have seen in all the buildings of the Council. The wood is inferior, had not been properly seasoned, was patched in places, and very full of shakes and hard knots. I understand that some of the defects had been remedied prior to its being seen by Mr. Cubitt Nichols, but I am not surprised at some of the remarks he made on this subject. There can have been no proper supervision or selection of material when issued to the joiners' shops.

Again, as to Colney Hatch temporary buildings—

The flooring, which, I understand, is of two thicknesses of three-quarter inch boarding, is of very good quality, but the match boarding throughout is the worst I ever saw. The boards are about seven inches wide (batten width), beaded on one end with solid tongues. The wood itself seems to be spruce, fit only for packing cases, &c., and although I was told it had been two years in stock before use, it had in many places shrunk to such an extent that the tongues had come completely out of the grooves. The workmanship was rough in the extreme, though parts had been hand-planed on the job, and other parts had been smudged over

with opaque stain or paint before being varnished. How such stuff came to be purchased for the Works Department I cannot conceive. On the other hand, some of the joinery, such as partition work, which was panelled and moulded, was of very good quality both as to material and workmanship.

SLOW WORK.

One point of criticism of the Department's work is its extreme slowness as compared with the work done by contractors.

One of the most flagrant cases is that of the drainage of North Woolwich, where the actual cost exceeded the final estimate by £16,714.

Sir Alexander Binnie, the Chief Engineer of the Council, said—

That the work was from the very first badly mismanaged. . . . It has taken four years to execute whereas it should have been completed in eighteen months.

And he also adds—

I cannot close this report without drawing the Committee's attention to another work now under construction, which, unless some improvement be made, will, I fear, result in the same unfortunate manner. I allude to the tunnel under the Lee in connection with the Hackney Wick sewer. This tunnelling was commenced about the beginning of February, 1901, and up to the 30th November last, or in a period of ten months, about 681 feet in length of the iron rings had been completed. It is only necessary for me to draw the Committee's attention to the rate of progress under the contract for a larger and more difficult tunnel—that at Greenwich—the driving of 1,200 feet of which, wholly under the river Thames, was finished in nine months.

Sir Alexander Binnie concluded by stating—

It is well known to the Committee and the Council that from its initiation I have strongly, and to the best of my ability, supported the Works Department, and I am sure that they will not impute to me any animus in the above remarks; but having been called upon to make them, I feel it my duty to speak plainly, and can but regret that this—one of the last reports which I shall write while in the Council's service—should have to be couched in such unfavourable terms.

After such a strong condemnation from so stalwart a supporter of the Works Department, no further comment is necessary.

Similar delay and waste of time occurred in the reconstruction of No. 17, Fleet Street.

THE SECOND OBJECT: BETTER PAY AND LABOUR CONDITIONS.

The next great aim expected to be attained was better pay and conditions of labour for the workmen. But both the contractors and the Department are bound to pay to all workmen the rates of wages and to observe the hours of labour and conditions agreed between trades unions and employers. Thus, again, we have equality between the contractors and the Department. In the treatment of employees, one is not better than the other. Indeed, if the Works Department ventured to pay a higher rate of wages than that in practice paid by the best employers, it would be creating a privileged class of workmen, and there would be strong ground for suspecting the existence of corrupt influence.

DISADVANTAGES OF MUNICIPAL LABOUR.

While on this point, it is important to observe that the system of municipal labour has produced two salient evils—one, at least, familiar enough to students of social history. The first evil is that the Works Department labourer, taking as his motto: “A minimum of work for a maximum of pay,” does not work with the energy that he does for a private employer. The second weakness is the power of the vote which is wielded at municipal elections by a large body of municipal workmen. The undue pressure which is brought to

bear on the Councillors by their workmen, on the eve of such elections, is distinctly inimical to pure administration.

THE "CA' CANNY" SYSTEM.

An instructive address was delivered by Mr. Holloway (then Manager of the Works Department) to the employees at their annual outing in September, 1893. Mr. Holloway said—

On the success or non-success of the Works Department of the County Council will depend in a very great measure whether the same system was to be tried throughout the entire country. The success of the work depends as much upon the humblest individual as it does upon those occupying the higher positions, and the only means by which the undertaking can be brought to a successful issue, and which would thoroughly justify the action taken by the Council, is that every man should make up his mind that, on entering the Council's service, he will render an honest day's work for the honest day's wage, which he knows he will receive. It is a great mistake for any one to enter the Council's service and expect to receive good money without doing good work.

Mr. Lyon, L.C.C. (Progressive), said—

The Works Committee want to be judged by results and results only, and we look to the men to bring success. There must be no shirking of work. You shall have your rate of wages; we rely on you to give us the value of those wages.

Alderman Taylor (Progressive) also spoke, and pointed out that—

When it was first proposed on the Council to employ their own men, the enemies of the proposal used as their chief argument the allegation that workmen employed by a corporate body would shirk their work. It rested with the workmen themselves to give the lie to that insult to labour. He felt confident the men would do so. **Upon the success or failure of this experiment depended the future of the labour movement.**—(*London*, September, 1893.)

These appeals, however, did not meet with any response from the men, and the confidence felt by Mr. Alderman

Taylor, that the men would give the lie to the insult to labour contained in the allegation that workmen would shirk their work, was not realised.

In April, 1895, an official report stated—

A large portion of the excess is due without doubt to the fact that for some time after the Works Department was established, there was a tendency on the part of the skilled workmen in our employ not to do the same amount of work for the Council as they would be expected to do for a contractor, and it was only after repeated dismissals that this idea was shaken.

This disposition to give a minimum of work for a maximum of pay still exists among the employees of the Works Department, and “labour troubles” are as rife under Municipal Socialism as under private enterprise.

On the 5th December, 1901, the manager of works, in his report on the North Woolwich drainage excess, stated—

Several strikes also took place after this date, and later, the work was stopped one week, and is still suffering more or less interruption, owing to the bricklayers striking for 1s. 2d. per hour on a certain portion of the work; they were paid off, and there has been some difficulty in getting a requisite number together again.

THE THIRD OBJECT: TO SAVE THE CONTRACTORS' PROFIT.

There remains, therefore, only the third, and, perhaps, the most attractive, reason advanced for the institution of the Works Department, namely, that it would save the contractors' profit of 10 per cent.

Since the creation of the Department in November, 1892, the totals of the final estimates and actual cost are as follows:—

Final Estimate.	Actual cost.	Excess over Final Estimate.
£2,311,287	£2,394,054	£82,767 or over 3½ per cent. excess.

The half-yearly returns since March 31st, 1896, inclusive, are as follows :

		Final Estimate.	Actual Cost.		Saving (—) Excess (+)
March 31st, 1896	..	85,244	80,912	—	4,332
September 30th, 1896	..	23,218	25,696	+	2,478
March 31st, 1897	..	24,099	25,563	+	1,463
September 30th, 1897	..	171,049	192,410	+	21,360
March 31st, 1898	..	29,124	24,505	—	4,619
September 30th, 1898	..	92,909	113,909	+	21,000
March 31st, 1899	..	61,671	66,133	+	4,461
September 30th, 1899	..	23,964	23,376	—	587
March 31st, 1900	..	180,756	200,706	+	19,950
September 30th, 1900	..	53,148	53,303	+	155
March 31st, 1901	..	83,924	83,532	—	391
September 30th, 1901	..	103,620	118,162	+	14,541
March 31st, 1902	..	123,156	115,817	—	7,339
September 30th, 1902	..	103,725	94,096	—	9,629
March 31st, 1903	..	591,790	638,534	+	46,744
September 30th, 1903	..	232,524	206,670	—	25,854

The excess of £82,767 over final estimates is a dead loss to the ratepayers. For taking the whole of the similar works executed by contractors, it will be found that the contractors have done the work within the estimate. Instead of saving the contractors' profit of 10 per cent., the Department has exceeded the contract price by nearly £83,000. To have saved the contractors' profit of 10 per cent., the Works Department ought to have done the work for £231,128 14s. less than the total final estimate of £2,311,287. But instead of being 10 per cent. under estimates, the Department shows an excess of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Turning to the jobbing works done by the Works Department we find that the returns state that the work has been done at a large cost below the schedule value. The jobs are not done on estimates, but on a schedule of prices. The alleged saving is fictitious, because the schedule of prices is much higher than the schedule of prices on which

contractors do work for the Government. Of course, if the prices are extravagant, it is very easy for the Works Department to make a profit. There is no open competition for jobbing work; and had the jobs been given to contractors on the same schedule of prices as is paid by the Government, the cost to the Council would have been far less than the cost charged by the Works Department.

Taking a broad survey of the accounts, and applying the general and fair tests of comparison between the contractors and the estimates, it is beyond dispute that the third and chief purpose of the Progressive policy has failed. The "financial gain" to the ratepayers has not been made. Instead, a financial loss has been suffered.

Progressive apologists seek to confuse the issue by contending that if the actual cost of a work exceeds the estimate, the difference is not loss. Admittedly, it is not loss to the Department, which is paid in full whatever the cost may be. But the difference is a loss to the ratepayers when it is considered that contractors would have done the work at the estimated price. In the absence of comparison, it would be impossible to test the Department, and there would be merely dead acquiescence in its extravagance. On this point, Sir Alexander Binnie and other experts agree—

That for the purpose of arriving at some rough judgment on the result, it is not an unfair comparison to contrast "actual cost" with "estimated expenditure" over the whole of the works undertaken.

The last half-yearly return—to September 30th, 1903, which shows a saving of £25,853, has been widely published. The effect of it is calculated to mislead the public, and to cover up the total results. On the whole year's working there has been a loss of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., that is to say, on £824,314 worth of work there has been an excess of £20,891.

“BOLSTERING-UP” THE DEPARTMENT.

The failure of the Department to produce results for which it was established is the more startling, when it is remembered that in several important respects it has an advantage over the contractors. It has first choice of work ; it can pick and choose ; it knows the estimated price of which the contractor is ignorant when he tenders ; it has practically unlimited power of borrowing from the general funds of the Council at a low rate of interest ; and it has other business conveniences.

The latest Progressive method of bolstering up the Department is to give it work without asking for tenders. For instance, on the 19th December, 1903, the Highways Committee recommended that the erection of tram car sheds at New Cross, at a cost of £80,530, should be entrusted to the Works Department, without tenders being invited. Mr. Goodrich (Conservative) moved, and Mr. E. White (Conservative) seconded, a reference back to the Committee, with instructions to advertise for tenders. This motion was defeated by the Progressives, although it was pointed out that contractors would probably do the work at less cost than the Department. Mr. Torrance (Progressive), Chairman of the Works Committee, pleaded that it was the duty of the Council to give the Department whatever work they could.

In connection with housing work, the same bolstering-up of the Department has been resorted to, the erection of blocks of buildings being given to the Works Department without tenders being invited.

By this means the check of competition is removed from the Department, and there is absolutely no means of judging

whether the Department has been extravagant or not. The Department ought to be placed on exactly the same level as a contractor, and tenders should be invited for all work.

INSTANCES OF FAILURE.

In illustration of the tendency to go beyond the professional estimate, some of the works executed in connection with the three most important spending Committees of the Council should be considered, namely, the Main Drainage, the Housing, and the Asylums.

Instances of excesses.	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 100px; margin: 0 auto;"></div>	MAIN DRAINAGE.—This work should be suitable for execution by a Works Department. The estimates are necessarily full, owing to the uncertainty connected with the work, but whereas a contractor would tender at a price to cover average risk, and get his full demand in any case, the Council would be charged only the cost of risks actually incurred in the case of a department. The <i>Lewisham Sewer</i> , estimated at £54,100, admittedly mismanaged at the beginning, showed an excess of £14,800 when taken over by the new management (which hoped to reduce that figure); but at the end it came out nearly £23,000 on the wrong side. The work at the <i>Crossness Outfall</i> , again, which, according to the report of the new manager, ought never to have been taken, and was, moreover, mismanaged, like the Lewisham work (though the views of the engineer upon the matter were not, like those of the manager, submitted to the Council), resulted in an excess of £16,280 on an estimate of £34,600. The <i>North Woolwich Drainage</i> scheme, estimated at £47,683, was reported upon in optimistic terms in February, 1898, by the manager, who found that the “period of greatest risk had been successfully passed.” The final result, reported in February, 1902, was that the work cost £64,398, or an excess of £16,714 over final
Lewisham sewer.		Cross- ness works.
North Wool- wich drain- age.		

estimate. The *Hackney Wick Relief Sewer*, undertaken in July, 1898, at an estimated cost of £125,329, cost £136,946, or an excess of £11,617. It is significant that the first (or *Abbey Mills*) section of a scheme, estimated at about £600,000, was brought up early in 1900. The Department, however, declined to accept it at the engineer's estimate of £97,000, though it was subsequently taken by a contractor at £96,000. On two works, however, the Department has lately shown a saving of £15,166, namely, Section B of the *Northern Outfall Sewer*, and the Greenwich Road branch of the *Southern Outfall Sewer*. Abbey Mills job declined.

ASYLUMS.—In the early days of its career the Department only executed for the Asylums Committee work estimated at £64,800, resulting in an excess over estimate of 19 per cent. Almost immediately on the reconstruction of the Council in 1898, however, that Committee had to consider the erection of the superstructure of *Horton Asylum*, the cube estimate of which came out at £281,000, priced by quantities at £274,500. The manager at first refused the job, and the Finance Committee, through a Radical chairman, reported that it thought the work too heavy for a newly constituted department. The Asylums Committee asked for tenders for the work, but the lowest tender was £296,600. The manager then expressed his willingness to adhere to an estimate of £284,400, sent in by him before tenders were invited, and was given the job. It was to meet the opportunity thus presented that about this time the radius within which London rates of wages should be prescribed for all Council's work was extended from ten to twenty miles, though ten miles is the radius recognised by the trade unions. The work was to be completed by the end of September, 1900, Gradually, however, the period was extended for the Horton work, and in June, 1903, the result was reported as follows :—

Final estimate, £291,165 ; actual cost, £329,044, or an excess over estimate of £37,878. So much for the superstructure. The Central Station at the same asylum was also undertaken by the Works Department. The final estimate was £14,328 ; the actual cost was £16,305, or an excess of £1,977. The epileptic colony at Horton was finally estimated to cost £68,890. It actually cost £73,909, or an excess of £5,019. Altogether, the result of entrusting the Horton Asylum job to the Works Department was that the final estimates were exceeded by £45,000.

HOUSING.—In building for the Housing Committee, the importance of adhering to the estimate is very great. Every excess over the estimate means higher rent to the tenants. In many cases, the Department has exceeded the estimates.

Take the case of two blocks of buildings—erected under the Housing of the Working Classes schemes—absolutely identical in size, design and material used, and built at the same time, and under the same conditions as to cost of labour and material—

Cookham Buildings (erected by a Contractor) cost £14,059.

Hogarth Buildings (erected by the Works Department) cost £15,030.

showing that, instead of saving the contractors' profit of 10 per cent., the Works Department job cost £1,000 more than the exactly similar work done by the contractors. This is only one of many such cases.

Again, contractors have often carried out work much below the estimates upon which the Works Department manager refused to do the work.

For instance, on the Millbank Site, Culham, Marlow, and Shiplake Blocks were erected by the contractor at an actual cost £3,000 under the estimate refused by the Works Department as being insufficient.

The loss on buildings erected by the Works Department under Housing schemes is very considerable.

Increased cost of building means increased rent, which is all the more important when we find that the high rents charged for rooms in the Council's buildings render it impossible for the poorer members of the working classes to become tenants.

On the other hand, there is a saving on buildings completed by contractors.

It is to be observed that the practice of giving work to the Department without inviting tenders has sometimes enabled the Department to show a saving on a job, when a contractor would have done the work equally well, and perhaps, cheaper had tenders been invited.

L.C.C. FINANCE.

PART I.

In their programme issued before the elections of 1901, the Conservatives of the London County Council made control of expenditure a principal plank, as follows :—

CONSERVATIVE POLICY, 1900.

CONTROL OF EXPENDITURE.

Control of expenditure is the next principle. The Radicals claim credit for the fact that the County Rate has not risen materially. But the increase in rateable value has enabled larger sums to be obtained from the same nominal rate, and expenditure has advanced, though past years have not borne their fair share of charge for improvements. Moreover, the Council has in recent years rapidly committed itself to improvements and other undertakings involving a gross outlay exceeding £20,000,000. The undertakings are desirable enough in themselves, and some are of a remunerative character. But schemes are considered merely upon their individual merits, and without due regard to other claims upon the County Fund. The Finance Committee, indeed, have reported that, under present conditions, "it is impossible for the Council to form a correct estimate of its financial liabilities and to decide whether it is justified in undertaking a particular outlay at the moment."

The Conservatives have obtained the passing of a rule under which Street Improvements are submitted to the Council in a yearly budget. They consider it imperative to extend a similar rule to other large schemes, and to require such reports from the Finance Committee upon the financial position as will enable the Council to take a comprehensive view of the proposed capital commitments. By such measures, and by economy in general administration, they believe that unnecessary expenditure can be prevented, and the charge upon the rate can be spread over a number of years, so as to avoid an oppressive increase of burden in any year.

PROGRESSIVE POLICY OF "NO CONTROL" CONDEMNED.

The Progressive majority, however, have taken no practical steps to control or co-ordinate expenditure, though the Finance Committee, in their annual report to March, 1903, have to admit the need for doing so. They say—

We have for a long time been impressed with the desirability of establishing some system by which the Council should be able to co-ordinate its capital expenditure, and thus regulate, to some extent, the amounts of its borrowings from time to time. The present financial system does not afford the Council any special opportunity of reviewing its capital commitments, and of judging of the expediency of entering upon new schemes in the light of its existing engagements. Proposals involving large capital outlay come before the Council at all seasons of the year, and votes are passed.

After contrasting the practice of the Council with that of the State, the Committee continue—

Unlike the State loans for works, such proposed expenditure is not brought before the Council as a whole. The Council, therefore, is not in a position to regulate it according to settled order, or to marshal it at a rate which will not unduly press upon the ratepayers, or affect the credit of the Council in the money market. The Council has no opportunity of considering as to the amount of loans which it will be wise to incur in the next financial year, or in the next few years, and no attempt is made to order the succession of works so as not to impose too heavy a charge on one year. Such co-ordination of expenditure appears to us indispensable if financial order is to be maintained.

This condemnation of the financial system, or lack of system, which prevails at the Council under Progressive rule, is surely remarkable, coming, as it does, from the Council's own Finance Committee, which has always enjoyed Progressive majorities and Progressive Chairmen.

The following report of a debate (on the proposal to

widen Hampstead Road) which took place on December 22nd, 1903, is instructive :—

The Improvements Committee recommended that the estimate of £245,500, submitted by the Finance Committee, be approved, and that expenditure on capital account not exceeding that amount be authorised for the purpose of widening Hampstead Road at the southern end, authorised by the London County Council (Tramways and Improvements) Act, 1902.

Mr. Campbell (Conservative) contended that the Council were going on in a wild way, incurring capital expenditure without knowing where the money was coming from. Last February they raised £5,000,000, and that was all spent. The other day they borrowed £500,000 on Bills, and they had also overdrawn their cash balance. This was an unsatisfactory way of going on, and their system of incurring capital expenditure should be reformed at once.

Mr. Russell Spokes supported the recommendation.

Mr. H. P. Harris (Conservative) said no doubt the Hampstead Road widening was of urgent importance, and the only question was that of expense. In the absence of any amendment from the Finance Committee, he would vote for the recommendation, but he would point out the unsatisfactory position members were placed in whenever recommendations involving capital expenditure were brought before them. In the Report before them, the Finance Committee struck a note of alarm, and pointed out the extreme inadvisability of incurring fresh liabilities for which money would have to be borrowed during the next year or two; but the Finance Committee did not put before them the facts and figures without which it was impossible to appreciate the gravity of the financial position, and to judge whether a particular proposal brought forward was one which, having regard to all considerations, should go forward. **Years ago, it was urged that there should be a periodical statement of the Council's commitments, with a view to a co-ordination of capital expenditure, but the idea was then scouted.** A year ago, on the motion of Colonel Rotton, it was referred to the Finance Committee to present a statement showing the capital commitments, and he did not know why it should take a year for the Council to say what it owed, and what its capital commitments were. The situation was not satisfactory, and he hoped prompt steps would be taken by the Council to deal with the matter.

Mr. Jephson (Progressive) defended the Finance Committee, and said the delay in submitting the return was due to the difficulty of the Highways Committee furnishing accurate estimates of their commitments.

Lord Welby (Progressive) said that while, no doubt, it would be possible for the Finance Committee to refuse to present an estimate, yet that had never been his view of their duty. In bringing forward an amendment to a recommendation for an item of capital expenditure, one must consider the question all round, and when he brought forward such an amendment a short time ago he got little encouragement. **It was not advisable that time after time it should be told to the world that the Council set its face against prudence and economy.** With regard to bringing forward a statement of their commitments, the difficulty had been to obtain from the Standing Committees statements on which they could rely. They knew, for instance, that the Highways Committee contemplated an expenditure of nearly £10,000,000 on tramways, but the Finance Committee could not find out the rate at which that expenditure would proceed. He had never said the finance of the Council was not sound, but what he did ask was that, in view of the state of the money market, they should co-ordinate their expenditure and moderate their expenditure for the next few years, so as to prevent a rebuff on the market.—*Standard*, December 23rd, 1903.

WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THIS LACK OF SYSTEM ?

1.—**Large growth of debt**, as will be seen from subjoined table :—

NET DEBT OF COUNCIL.				£
March, 1889	..	..	..	17,563,262
„ 1899	..	..	..	21,562,019
„ 1900	..	..	..	23,031,516
„ 1901	..	..	..	24,813,694
„ 1902	..	..	..	27,188,629
„ 1903	..	..	..	28,699,824
September, 1903	..	..	..	30,130,815

It will be seen that in recent years the net debt has increased by leaps and bounds, and it must be borne in mind that only a comparatively small portion is for “ remunerative ” purposes so-called. Of the net debt of £30,130,815 outstanding on 30th September, 1903, £25,976,287 is devoted to unremunerative purposes, and £4,154,528 to remunerative purposes.

2.—Excessive issues of stock in recent years.

The following figures give the amount of stock issued by London County Council:—

				£	
1889	..	..	..	1,000,000	Stock.
1892	..	..	..	1,200,000	„
1893	..	..	..	1,500,000	„
1894	..	..	..	2,000,000	„
1895	..	..	..	1,000,000	„
1896	..	..	..	1,000,000	„
1897	..	..	..	2,500,000	„
1898	..	..	..	2,000,000	„
1899	..	..	..	1,750,000	„
1900	..	..	..	5,000,000	„
1901	..	..	..	2,000,000	„
1902	..	..	..	5,000,000	„
1903	..	..	..	5,000,000	„

Lord Welby, in a speech to the Council on 17th November, 1903, said:—

I am bound to say that the Council has never, up to the present moment, considered the amount which the Council might fairly borrow every year without turning the money market against it, or injuring its credit in the money market.

Again, it may be observed that this is a remarkable criticism to come from the Progressive Chairman of the Council's Finance Committee, who has held his chair for several years.

3.—Enormous capital commitments.

The Progressives have tried to conceal the amount of capital expenditure to which the Council is now committed. On 4th November, 1902, a motion was carried for a return showing the total net indebtedness of the Council and also its capital commitments. This return has only just (26th January, 1904) been presented. The Return (Capital

Commitments, No. 9,312) discloses the following capital commitments :—

I. Amounts actually voted or approved ..	£16,001,983
II. Proposals for which Parliamentary sanction sought, 1904	2,143,875
	<hr/>
	£18,145,858
	<hr/>

The principal commitments are—

Under the head of I. :—

	£
Street Improvements	4,394,643
Rotherhithe Tunnel	1,853,035
Vauxhall Bridge	224,117
Main drainage	2,730,924
Clearance schemes	362,584
Working Class dwellings ..	3,170,425
Tramways	1,924,373
Lunatic Asylums	183,498

Under Head II. :—

Thames steamboats	280,000
Tramways and street widenings	1,516,075
Street improvements	236,300
Fire stations	111,500

In addition to the above commitments, the Council has resolved to reconstruct all the tramways for electrical traction. This, with the construction of new lines and the cost of street widenings which will be rendered necessary, means a very large capital expenditure which cannot be definitely estimated at present, but is approximately stated at £10,000,000.

“ OUTSTRIPPING THE BOUNDS OF PRUDENCE.”

It is no wonder that Lord Welby should say :—

The growing demands on the Council are so great, that I must say that **the Council is outstripping the bounds of prudence.**—(*Speech*, 17th November, 1903.)

4.—Depreciation of the Council's credit.

In 1896-7, the Council were borrowing at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. To-day its $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock is only worth about £80, and it has to pay $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for the money it borrows.

The increase in the price the Council has to pay for money is, of course, largely due to the fact that the market is overstocked with high-class securities.

But the Progressive Council has contributed to this result. Lord Welby may be again quoted :—

There can be no doubt whatever, I think, for insufficient reason, to a great extent, that municipal loans are not very favourably viewed by the money market. There is a suspicion, and I do not say it is entirely without foundation, but I think it is very grossly exaggerated, that municipalities are extravagant, and in consequence, a check ought to be put upon their borrowings.

In face of the admissions of Lord Welby and the Finance Committee, quoted above, can the suspicions of the money market be regarded as otherwise than natural and well-founded?

The results of Progressive lack of system and prudence in the management of the Council's finances have been indicated, and it is important also to note one cause which has contributed to the critical financial position in which the Council now finds itself.

The cause is to be found in the refusal of a Progressive majority for many years to carry out necessary street improvements until the incidence of local taxation was changed. The result has been twofold : (1) That delayed improvements are now being carried out at a cost which is greatly increased, both because of the enhancement of the value of property—consequent upon delay—and because of the increased cost of

the money borrowed to pay for it; (2) that the burden of an excessively large number of improvement schemes has been cast upon the rates at the present time, when large sums are required for tramways, main drainage, and other purposes.

The following table shows the expenditure of the Council on capital account for street improvements.—(See *Annual Report of L.C.C. for 1903*, p. 233.)

					£
1889-90	..	..	..	..	92,171
1890-1	..	..	..	..	95,467
1891-2	..	..	..	..	116,068
1892-3	..	..	..	..	25,341
1893-4	..	..	..	..	63,658
1894-5	..	..	..	..	91,068
1895-6	..	..	..	..	103,805
1896-7	..	..	..	..	88,130
1897-8	..	..	..	..	200,300
1898-9	..	..	..	..	371,394
1899-1900	..	..	..	..	867,341
1900-1	..	..	..	..	1,214,839
1901-2	..	..	..	..	1,691,834
1902-3	..	..	..	..	2,675,433

FUTURE BORROWINGS.

As regards the future, the outlook for the ratepayers is far from satisfactory. We have it on the authority of Lord Welby (*speech* 17th November, 1903) that "the Council will have to go next year for a loan in excess of that five millions," and in view of the commitments of the Council, and

the large number of projects in preparation, the amount required to be borrowed is more likely to increase than to be reduced in future years.

CONSERVATIVE POLICY.

What is wanted, if the Council's credit is to be maintained, and the ratepayers are to be spared excessive burdens, is—

(1) Such co-ordination of expenditure as the Finance Committee of the Council admit to be “indispensable,” but which they have not been allowed by the Progressive party to take any steps to secure.

The Conservative policy is to promote this object by requiring large schemes to be submitted to the Council in a yearly budget, with such reports from the Finance Committee as will enable the Council to take a comprehensive view of proposed capital commitments, and to marshal its expenditure at a rate which will not unduly press on the ratepayers.

(2) The confidence of the money market. This cannot be retained by the Progressive party which, by the admissions of its own principal financier, has failed to regulate its expenditure with prudence, and is, moreover, pledged to a number of speculative schemes of municipal trading.

The Conservative minority have, by the consistent manner in which they have advocated, at the Council and in their programme of 1901, the establishment of a proper system of financial control, shown that they are the party of prudent finance. The Conservative policy is one of progress on sound municipal, but not Socialistic, lines.

It cannot be doubted that if such a policy were dominant at Spring Gardens the financial credit of the Council would be strengthened, and its capacity for beneficent administration and expenditure would be increased.

THE RISING RATE.

Turning from the melancholy prospect afforded by the Council's ponderous debt, the ratepayer can derive no satisfaction from a contemplation of its rising rate :—

TABLE A.

Year.	Rate in £.	Amount raised from Rates. Gen. and Spec. Account.	Rateable Value.	Amount produced by 1d. Rate.
	d.	£	£	£
1889-90	12.53	1,857,675	31,588,137	131,611
1890-91	13.25	1,718,951	31,788,826	132,418
1891-2	11.75	1,583,169	33,004,612	137,841
1892-3	12.50	1,692,551	33,264,483	139,034
1893-4	13.00	1,777,165	33,578,860	140,108
1894-5	14.00	1,934,592	33,902,747	141,307
1895-6	15.00	2,096,052	34,221,830	142,591
1896-7	15.00	2,196,247	35,793,672	149,306
1897-8	14.00	2,062,267	36,083,950	150,400
1898-9	14.00	2,086,041	36,584,981	152,395
1899-00	13.50	2,042,593	37,022,237	154,203
1900-1	14.50	2,225,667	37,492,502	156,456
1901-2	15.00	2,431,738	39,769,069	160,460
1902-3	15.50	2,537,256	40,098,130	166,989
1903-4	16.75	2,778,617*	—	169,128*
	(Vide Annual Report.)	(Financial Abstract, No. 654.)	(Statistical Abstracts, 1899 and 1902.)	(L.C.C. County Rate Analysis, No. 513.)

* Estimated.

The receipts from Imperial subventions (Col. 1.) and the total expenditure (Col. 2) are as follows:—

TABLE B.

Year.	Exchequer Contributions*	Equivalent Rate in £.	Total Expenditure.†	Capital Expenditure. ‡
	£	d.	£	£
1890-1	537,845	4.06	—	642,448
1891-2	622,897	4.52	—	624,190
1892-3	537,309	3.86	—	858,186
1893-4	524,848	3.75	—	1,644,066
1894-5	460,557	3.26	2,495,438	1,501,378
1895-6	517,728	3.47	2,559,097	1,517,003
1896-7	505,676	3.39	2,565,407	1,696,088
1897-8	568,927	3.49	2,586,109	2,255,388
1898-9	588,600	3.86	2,690,381	2,603,258
1899-00	664,487	4.31	2,787,275	2,483,774
1900-1	586,519	3.54	3,006,216	3,895,192
1901-2	559,105	3.37	3,034,214	4,508,449
1902-3	564,549	3.22	3,194,501	
1903-4 (Estd.)	538,000	—	3,415,515	

* Tables prepared in connection with the Council's Annual Estimates for the years 1895 to 1903-4.

† Not including **Capital** Expenditure.

‡ Financial Abstract, No. 654, L.C.C.

THE GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE.

The main features of the figures in Table A are that—

- (a) The rate has risen $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. since 1888-9 ; but the rate of increase has been most rapid since 1899-00, viz., $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. in three years.
- (b) The sum raised from the rates *decreased* in the early years of the Council, but rose steadily after 1893-4.

Increase, 1895-6	..	£161,460
„ 1896-7	..	£100,195

Then the amount fell again in 1897-8, and no remarkable change came until 1900-1, when the figures rose by leaps and bounds.

INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR.

1900-1.	..	£183,074
1901-2	..	£206,071
1902-3	..	£105,518
1903-4	..	£241,361 (estimated).

In other words, between 1890-1 and 1899-00—a period of nine years—the amount extracted from the ratepayers' pocket rose by £323,642, or at the rate of £35,960 a year. During the next four years the increase was £736,024, or at the rate of £184,000 a year. Truly, Progressive rule means progressive rates.

Table B shows that the Council is now spending £920,000 per year more than it did in 1894-5, or an increase of 37 per cent. in nine years.

HOW THE INCREASE IS MADE.

The enormous increase of the individual ratepayer's burden since the Council was established in 1889 is not apparent from a mere scrutiny of the actual rise in the rate, which, in itself, is alarming. The contribution of the ratepayer to the London County Council has been increased in two ways:—

1. By a rise in his rate;
2. By increasing the assessment of his house.

That is to say, the ratepayer, in order to estimate the growth of his local tax, must have regard not only to the rise in the rate, but must compare the present rateable value of his house with the rateable value of it, say, ten years ago.

THE GROWTH OF ASSESSMENTS.

A memorandum of the evidence of the Statistical Official of the London County Council, submitted to the Royal

Commission on Taxation, discloses the remarkable growth in assessments of property. "From these estimates it appears that property built prior to 1871, and valued in 1871 at £19,650,743 is now (1897-8) valued at £25,131,840, *an increase* of £5,481,097, or 22 per cent." The memorandum further states that between 1878-9 and 1893-4, the estimated amount of rates upon this same property had increased from £4,596,969 to £6,184,469, or £1,587,500—34 per cent.

The following table shows the average rise in rateable value :—

Rateable Value per head of Population and per Rated House.—(Statistical Abstract, pp. 78 and 79.)

RISE IN RATEABLE VALUE.

Per head of Population.				Per rated House.			
Year.		£	s. d.		£	s. d.	
1892	..	7	15	9	..	Not given.	
1893	..	7	15	8	..	Not given.	
1894	..	7	15	10	..	57	17 0
1895	..	7	15	10	..	58	3 10
1896	..	8	1	6	..	60	12 0
1897	..	8	1	9	..	60	9 10
1898	..	8	2	0	..	61	7 4
1899	..	8	2	5	..	61	8 5
1900	..	8	6	1	..	61	12 10
1901	..	8	18	4	..	65	18 9
1902	..	8	16	2	..	66	4 5

THE SUM OF THE INCREASED BURDEN.

Taking the average shown by the above figures, the ratepayer, in 1894, paid to the London County Council in rates, £3 2s. 8d. ; in 1903, he paid £4 12s. 6d. In other words, the amount paid in rates by him rose, in nine years, £1 9s. 10d., or 46 per cent.

(NOTE.—This increase is not inclusive of the rates of other authorities: it simply concerns the London County Council rate collected by the Borough Councils.)

Progressive apologists for this serious state of affairs allege that the London ratepayer is not worse off than ratepayers

elsewhere. But the Local Government Board Report, 1902-3, pp. 724-728, states that the average amount, per head of population, raised by rates in 1901, was :—

London.	Rest of England and Wales.
£2 12s. 0d.	£1 2s. 6d.

The average amount, per head of population, of debt was :

London.	Rest of England and Wales.
£12 17s. 9d.	£9 6s. 5d.

THE EFFECT OF HIGH RATES.

One important effect of high rates is to drive the better class of householder and many industrial concerns out of a highly-rated district into a less-rated area. Such a migration seriously damages the social and commercial status of the district abandoned. This outward movement has begun in London.

How seriously the rise in rates affects commercial undertakings is shown by the figures in the Board of Trade Returns for 1892 and 1901 with regard to railways. In 1892, the receipts of the Companies amounted to £82,092,040 ; in 1901, to £106,558,815. But there was, in 1901, nothing extra available for dividends, though there was an increase of £24,000,000 in earnings. One reason for this was that the rates and taxes paid by the Companies had increased by £1,611,000 in nine years, or 68 per cent. Shareholders in all industrial undertakings should note that the ever-growing rates are a heavy tax on dividends.

Another and, perhaps, more important consequence of high rates is the rise in the price of food, and all commodities sold by traders. This is a point not seen by the ordinary householder. Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., one of the economic experts consulted by the Royal Commission on

Local Taxation, thus describes the effect of rates on shops and trading premises. The rates on shops are borne by the customers. "For," says Mr. Courtney, "if these rates were removed, the trading profits would be *pro tanto* increased, and the competition between those engaged in the trade and of others ready to enter into it would bring down prices, and thus secure the ultimate benefit passing to the customer. In like manner, if the rate is increased, the customer has eventually to pay for it by an increase in the price of the goods."

Therefore, the question of the rates is of vital importance to all classes of the community, and, particularly, to the poor, who, not paying rates direct, think they are not affected. But heavy rates mean dearer food, dearer rent, and dearer everything. Every rise in rates means a rise in the necessities of life. Mr. Charles Booth gives authoritative figures in his monumental work, "Life and Labour of the People of London," showing that a large mass of London's population lives on the verge of starvation. And every citizen ought to ponder the heavy taxation of food, and other necessities of life, which has been brought about by Progressive increase of the rates.

Is it right to drive the poor deeper into the abyss of poverty by increasing the cost of living, through the constant rise of the rates? Ought not every local authority to balance the advantages of its civic expenditure against the undoubted burden thereby laid upon all classes? The advantages of Progressive expenditure, in many respects, are by no means commensurate with the heavy sacrifice which has to be made by the smaller ratepayers.

EXAMPLES OF EXTRAVAGANCE.

The Progressive idea of governing London is to pour out money like water. And attention is directed particularly

to the huge losses in connection with the asylums work (*see* “Works Department” chapter); to the enormous increase of establishment charges—1892-3, £97,703; 1903-4, £196,485 (estimated); and to expenditure in promoting and opposing Bills.

A return, recently issued, set out all the expenses incurred by the London County Council in (A) promoting and (B) opposing Bills in Parliament in each session, up to and including the year 1902. The following table shows the total and the amount for each year:—

—				Amounts expended on promotions.	Amount expended on oppositions.	Total.
				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1889	..	..	..	1,301 15 0	4,728 0 2	6,029 15 2
1890	..	..	..	9,795 10 3	4,752 1 4	14,547 11 7
1891	..	..	..	5,229 15 5	7,271 15 11	12,501 11 4
1892	..	..	..	9,146 14 9	2,750 4 1	11,896 18 10
1893	..	..	..	10,499 13 4	3,177 6 7	13,676 19 11
1894	..	..	..	13,884 0 1	6,187 7 1	20,071 7 2
1895	..	..	..	25,640 15 11	732 18 3	26,373 14 2
1896	..	..	..	7,986 18 1	7,296 17 3	15,283 15 4
1897	..	..	..	14,942 1 2	3,924 3 0	18,866 4 2
1898	..	..	..	5,909 13 5	5,450 13 9	11,360 7 2
1899	..	..	..	21,893 8 0	6,611 13 10	28,505 1 10
1900	..	..	..	30,839 16 8	7,054 0 3	37,893 16 11
1901	..	..	..	13,663 9 7	5,212 2 6	18,875 12 1
1902	..	..	..	14,599 2 2	13,354 4 5	27,953 6 7
				£185,332 13 10	£78,503 8 5	£263,836 2 3

It is to be noted that while the Council spent £78,503 in opposing Bills, its expenditure in promoting Bills was £185,332. The greater number of these Bills failed to pass. Looking at the failure of these Parliamentary proposals, the sums spent upon their promotion, and the character of the projects involved, the Council may rightly be accused of recklessness, if not of absolute infatuation. It must not be forgotten that much of this expenditure was directed against private trading—was, in fact, designed for the propagation of Municipal Socialism.

In the present state of affairs, when Lord Rosebery tells us that we must cut down our reckless municipal extravagance when present and past Chancellors of the Exchequer and leading financiers view with alarm our huge municipal expenditure, it behoves citizens to differentiate between expenditure on what is absolutely necessary, and on what is merely recreative, or for enterprises established at the risk of the community and often in competition with large classes of ratepayers.

PART II.

LORD WELBY (PROGRESSIVE CHAIRMAN OF FINANCE COMMITTEE) ON THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE L.C.C.

At an ordinary meeting of the Council for the Administrative County of London, held on Tuesday, 17th November, 1903, the following speeches were made in the debate upon the proposal to hold a statutory meeting to consider the purchase of the undertaking of the London Southern Tramways Company:—

LORD WELBY (PROGRESSIVE ALDERMAN—CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE):

I am afraid that in following my hon. friend to-day, I shall be in this Council as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. But I do feel that it is so very important that the Council shall clearly understand what is the financial position before it commits itself to a further expenditure. I will venture to ask for a short time to tell the Council two or three reasons which will make me vote against A and B proposals now before us. First of all, I think I am at one with every member of the Council in desiring that the credit of the London County Council should be maintained at its present high position; I say at its present high position, because the credit of the London County Council, I am happy to say, stands at the moment second to that only of the State, and the first object of the Council must be to maintain that position.

PROGRESSIVE MAJORITY'S DISREGARD OF ORDINARY FINANCIAL PRUDENCE.

But if we are to maintain that position we must act with ordinary financial prudence ; and it is on that point that I want particularly to impress upon the Council the present state of the financial position of the Council in relation to the money market. The fact of the matter is that the growing demands upon the Council are so great that I must say that *the Council is outstripping the bounds of prudence*. At the present moment we have, first of all, growing demands from the different local authorities and from the different Borough Councils. We have the demands which are urged upon us with the natural anxiety of committees that such work shall be efficient in the interests of London. But none of these bodies pay any attention to the fact that the money must be found to carry out these great and beneficent designs. I, for one, am as anxious as any member of the Council that these designs shall be carried out in order that the Metropolis may be made worthy of being the capital of the Empire, but at the same time if we, and if the Council is going to vote for every proposal put before it, without any consideration of, or relation to, the money-market demands, or the price at which we borrow money, then I say, within a very comparatively short time, the credit of the Council must be injured. Now I will repeat what I say, because I think it is of so very much importance that the Council should bear these figures in mind. Why is our credit so good as it is ? In the first instance, because we have got splendid security. But, in the next place, let us look back and see what the process of the Council has been in borrowing money in the past. For six years, the Council issued stock to the amount of £1,300,000 a year, and then came another three years in

which we borrowed at a figure slightly over £2,000,000 a year; then we got forward to £3,500,000 a year, and in the last two years we have got to £5,000,000. Now we are going next year—I do not wish to lay down any particular figures—I have been carefully studying them, and I am very much afraid that when the commitments of the Council and its undertakings are considered we shall have to go next year for a loan in excess of that five millions. Therefore we have what the Council has before it, and what is more important to the public, the fact that the Council is constantly increasing its borrowings.

NO FINANCIAL CONTROL.

I am bound to say that the Council has never up to the present moment considered the amount which the Council might fairly borrow every year without turning the money market against it, or injuring its credit in the money market. At the present moment, the position in the money market is a very difficult and a very critical one. Just add to what I said before by carefully looking through the commitments of the Council.

NO HOPE OF CURTAILMENT.

I cannot foresee that next year, 1904-5, I can anticipate any great reduction for some time in the amount required. Now the position of the money market at the present moment is very peculiar. The position is this. If the Council will consider the matter fully they will see that the loans which the State requires, which the Colonies require, and the municipalities require, can only be met practically from one source, and that source is the savings of the people. Now

that at once will be made evident by the fact that if the Council goes back to the years 1896-7, before the South African War, we were borrowing at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. all we required. Since then we have had the South African War, which has been an enormous expenditure, making necessary a very large issue in securities in the shape of Consols. But at the same time, whether this expenditure is undertaken on the part of the State, or is going to be undertaken by the Colonies or the municipalities, we are not relaxing on our part, and these commitments were continued, and have been a drain upon the limited amount of the savings of the people, until at last you have got into this position, that the market is fairly overstocked with these high-priced securities, and that it will take some time before even the money market takes a turn. Even if the State does not continue to be a large borrower, it will be some time before the savings of the people have reached an equilibrium with the demands upon the market, and during that time we shall have to pay, and must pay very dearly indeed, for the money we find, but, further than that, there is a point which makes and which tells rather against us, or against any municipality. There can be no doubt whatever, I think, for insufficient reason to a great extent, that municipal loans are not very favourably viewed by the money market. There is a suspicion, and I do not say it is entirely without foundation, but I think it is very grossly exaggerated, that municipalities are extravagant, and, in consequence, a check ought to be put upon their borrowings. I say, therefore, without any fear of contradiction that municipal loans are looked upon with a considerable amount of jealousy in the market.

HEAVY COST OF BORROWING.

What is the significance of these facts I have laid before you? First of all, the sums that we have to

borrow we shall have to pay an extravagant price for, and unless we are careful, if we let it get abroad and let it be believed that it is our policy to increase our loans year by year, without any financial prudence in the matter, we shall injure our credit. It has always been the interest of the Council, and it has been impressed upon us by our expert officers, that it is cheaper to buy land now than to postpone it four or five years. By incurring expenditure at the present moment it is in one sense cheaper than it would be if we did, sometimes out of financial prudence, put off some schemes for a short time. But that is a two-edged weapon. When we buy to-day it must be clear, I think, that the price we have to pay for that money, counterbalances—in fact, more than counterbalances—the saving made on this expenditure at the cheaper rates. Let me explain this for a moment to the Council. In 1896–7 we were borrowing at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I have no hesitation in saying if we could borrow at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at the present moment we could borrow economically. I want the Council to bear that in mind, and also the fact that to-day a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is only worth about £80, so that for every £100 you now raise, and which you now borrow, the cost to the Council is something like £118. That increase in the price we pay for money is an additional cost to our expenditure, and it is a most important matter to be considered. This matter has never, so far as I know, been before the Council, and I, for one, *particularly want to impress upon the Council that there should be no extravagance in the future.* We, therefore, have to take into consideration these very heavy commitments of the next year. We have got no savings of the public which will be large enough to meet the demands, and it is upon these savings we rely. You may look upon the fact that next year when London goes to the market to borrow, first of all, we shall have to pay a very high price, and we only shall be able to continue

these beneficent works at a very heavy cost, comparing unfavourably with the cost of the past. But further than that we may depend upon one thing, our loans—the prosperity of which has been a feature of our expenditure—will be very closely watched and examined in the City by the money market before they grant us those loans. Having said that I do not wish to detain the Council any longer. I want to say in the most forcible and emphatic manner I can, I do implore the Council to be prudent in the next few years in what it undertakes.

Several Hon Councillors: Hear, hear.

LORD WELBY: I feel sure that unless we are prudent there will be a considerable check upon us, and I think the Council will regret it very deeply if, in the course of a year or two, we have a decided check upon our going to the money market. It will have a very bad effect upon our credit, and we shall all have to regret that, owing to the non-exercise of ordinary prudence at a very critical time, the credit of the London County Council received a check from which it will be some time before it recovers.

MR. BURNS' DISLIKE OF PRUDENT ADVICE.

MR. JOHN BURNS, M.P. (Battersea): Mr. Chairman, I consider it is the business of a finance chairman to preach prudence at every opportunity, and to advise economy wherever he sees a chance of economy being practised. But I must frankly say that we have had lessons in economy and we have had sermons on prudence, and we have had preachments about extravagance during the last five or six months to an extent I do not think the facts warrant. It may be, as Lord Welby says, that money is tight.

Several Hon. Councillors: Hear, hear.

COUNCIL NOT TO REGARD THE COST OF BORROWING.

Mr. BURNS, M.P. : It may be that it is difficult for local authorities to get their money as easily as they did, but it is not the business of either the County Council or the local authorities outside the County Council to take to themselves the discredit of the lack of confidence and the difficulty that they have in getting money. It is entirely due to other causes, for which neither the Borough Councils nor the County Council can be held responsible. And Sir, when we are advised, as we are advised—because I note this significant fact, that we never have these sermons on economy except when more or less remunerative undertakings are to be considered. I agree absolutely with Mr. Campbell. What the opinion of the City is about the London County Council's work, in my opinion, is a matter of indifference. We must not defer to the City too much. The City is against us in nearly everything we do, and if the average man in the City—especially the financier—had had his way, from Lord Rothschild downwards, the London County Council would be abolished, so, consequently, we have no right to be too deferential to the man in the City. But Mr. Campbell is absolutely right. At the back of our application, both for money and loans, is the rateable value of the City of London, and all our expenditure to improve the City of London, to make the City of London healthier and better than it is, which our money alone is spent in doing, enhances our credit and does not diminish it by a single penny. And when we are told that we are to be economical only when housing schemes are discussed—on housing, let us have the facts out about houses. I hear men preaching economy when housing schemes are in the wind. We have not lost a single penny by housing. On the contrary, we have both a gross and a nett profit on all our housing

schemes, so, consequently, there is no loss of money or credit upon housing. Therefore, all the arguments of right honourable members, Sir Algernon West and Lord Welby, do not apply to housing. With regard to tramways generally, there is both a gross and a nett profit, as everyone knows, over our tramway undertakings.

SOCIALISTIC PROTEST AGAINST ECONOMY.

Therefore, the argument does not apply either to tramways or to housing, and what I protest against, Sir, respectfully, is that these sermons on economy ought to come up when non-remunerative expenditure is contemplated. Not a word about it on fire brigade to protect the City. Some portions of it deserve to be extinguished in the interests of commercial morality. Not a word on fire brigade, which is non-remunerative; not a word on main drainage, or on parks, or on any of the non-remunerative branches of County Council expenditure. It is only when the London County Council touches the City by withdrawing from private enterprise and competition, such remunerative undertakings as both housing and tramways have been proved to be, that we are advised not to spend more money, and not to borrow more money than Lord Welby considers necessary.

LORD WELBY: If my honourable friend will allow me a word, I have never made any distinction between remunerative and unremunerative expenditure. I have preached prudence on unremunerative as well as remunerative. My honourable friend does me an injustice when he says that my sermons have been reserved only for remunerative expenditure.

MR. BURNS, M.P.: There have been several, Sir. It is true that Mr. Bruce and Sir Algernon West did. I have got to take a comprehensive survey of these things.

Mr. BRUCE : My point is entirely the question of raising capital.

An Hon. Member : That is not a point of order.

Mr. BRUCE : As a matter of personal explanation, my point entirely is the question of raising capital. What that capital is to be, I do not enter into ; it is the payment for it I refer to.

Mr. BURNS, M.P. : Mr. Bruce has forgotten the text from which he preached ; I will not take much notice of that. But it is only when we deal with tramways, when we deal with housing, when we contemplate water or electric light, that we hear these sermons about caution, economy and prudence. For instance, one of the speakers—I forget whether it was the Curate or the Vicar—but one of them referred to the municipal authorities contracting large loans. There, again, that is only an argument of the City, aimed at municipal trading and municipal enterprise by local authorities. What are the facts about that ? Local authorities throughout the United Kingdom have spent £88,000,000 of money in buying up 900 water works, about 250 gas works, about 120 electric light undertakings, and about 200 tramway concerns, and on that outlay of £88,000,000 of money, according to the return which I have in my hand, there has been a profit of £4,000,000 of money made. That is what is making the City howl. It is not our losses ; it is our profits. I know all about it. I could see the men who were cheering Lord Welby and Mr. Bruce this afternoon. Who are they ? They are either friends of the Industrial Freedom League or the London Municipal Society, or those who believe more in Clifton Robinson than in the London County Council. There is a difference between scratching your head and tearing your

scalp off, and both Sir Algernon West and Mr. Bruce have been engaged in that superfluous occupation this afternoon. And the tirade from the City about us being careful is due to what? The City is envious because this is being transferred from the region of private speculation into municipal ownership, and they want to put a stop to the municipalisation of tramways, not because they are a burden on the rates, not because they are a convenience to the public, but because it withdraws from private enterprise a more substantial asset and security than they will ever get out of Johannesburg, or any other places that have caused this lack of confidence—not in Spring Gardens, but in Downing Street, over the road.

A POLITICAL TIRADE TO SILENCE COMMON-SENSE.

To hear Lord Welby this afternoon any one would think we had a broker's man in here. If he is here, he has come to the wrong place; he ought to go to Downing Street or Brum. That is where the broker's man may be. Let us strip this mask from off the face of the City. We have spent as a country £250,000,000 direct on a wicked, wasteful, desolating war.

Several Hon. Councillors: Hear, hear.

Mr. BURNS, M.P.: We are contracting loans at this moment to build tramways in Johannesburg, houses in Pretoria, water schemes in Kimberley, and whilst these places are to be blessed, London that has paid for this war, and has suffered for it, is to be deprived of its own water supply, its housing, and its tramway, simply because the City has bit off more than it could chew or digest. I object to Lord Welby, or any other man, going through the streets of the

City and crying out stinking fish against the London County Council. The fish stinks at the head. The head is at 10, Downing Street, and the tail of it is at Birmingham. That is where the want of confidence is. You do not want to blame the Council for any extravagance. It is not extravagant in tramways and housing which we are discussing to-day. It is engaged in profitable work; it is work that the people of London want, and I believe the Council would be wise if it passed this tramway this afternoon. And if you want to know the reason why money is scarce, why trade is bad, and why people are not taking up these gilt-edged securities, it is due to the fact that we have got a mischievous politician going up and down the country disturbing trade, dislocating business, shaking confidence; and his friends in this Council this afternoon are trying to draw a red herring across the path by blaming the local authorities when it ought to be the Government, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and Joe Chamberlain, and the City, who have brought this about. (Applause.)—(*Verbatim Report.*)

A FURTHER WARNING.

On December 22nd, 1903, Lord Welby complained that when he brought forward an amendment to a recommendation for capital expenditure a short time ago he got little encouragement. **“It was not advisable that time after time it should be told to the world that the Council set its face against prudence and economy.** With regard to bringing forward a statement of their commitments the difficulty had been to obtain from the Standing Committees statements on which they could rely.”—*Standard*, December 23rd, 1903.

TAXATION.

Taxation
of ground
values.

ONE promise made by the Radicals at every election is “to relieve the occupiers of their unjust burden” by means of the taxation of ground values. Radicals and Conservatives alike agree that the burden which now falls on the ratepayers is excessive, and that new sources of revenue for local purposes ought to be found. But Radicals, at municipal elections, make party capital out of this difficult problem of taxation, although Parliament alone has power to deal with it.

A question
for Parlia-
ment, not
for the
County
Council.

The Earl of Rosebery, when a candidate for the representation of the City of London on the London County Council in 1889, was asked to state his views with regard to the taxation of ground rents, and made the following reply:—
“The County Council would have nothing to do with the taxation of ground rents. I shall be prepared to state my opinion on that point in the proper place, which is my seat in Parliament, but it is not a question for the County Council.”—
(*Times*, January 10th, 1889.)

THE RECORD OF PROGRESSIVE FAILURES, 1889-1903.

Progressive
failures.

The record of Progressive attempts to produce a definite plan to carry their theory into effect is one of inconsistent schemes, of long delays, and of invariable failure.

Fruitless
appeal to
Radical
Govern-
ment.

The following is a short summary of their action:—

On November 3rd, 1892, the Council resolved to ask the Radical Government, then in power, to introduce a Bill

imposing a rate upon "ground values." No plan was suggested, and the Government did not introduce a Bill * (*Minutes*, 1892, p. 1014).

In the following year a scheme for taxing all receivers of rent, which, according to the Council's own resolution, was not "the most equitable method," was, after much controversy amongst the Progressives (*Minutes*, 1892, pp. 1165 and 1185), put forward in the Improvement Rate Bill, 1893. This Bill was introduced as a Private Bill, contrary to the advice of the Council's legal advisers (*Minutes*, 1892, p. 1014), and on February 9th, 1893, the Speaker of the House of Commons decided that it was wrongly introduced, and must be withdrawn. The ratepayers' money spent in promoting the Bill was thus absolutely wasted.

On January 16th, 1894, the Local Government Committee presented a totally different scheme for taxing ground values, in the form of sixteen recommendations. But not one of the recommendations was adopted by the Council, because the Progressive majority could not agree upon any of them.

Nothing further was attempted for over four years, but on July 12th, 1898, the leader of the Progressive party obtained, without opposition, a reference to committees "to prepare and submit to the Council a Bill, to be introduced in the forthcoming Session of Parliament," for obtaining a direct contribution from owners of ground values.

* Not only did the Radical Government not introduce any such measure, but by their Budget Bill of 1894 they very largely increased the taxation upon land without assigning one penny of the large additional sums thus raised to relief of the rates. The Progressive Council is largely to blame for this, as by its resolution of November 29th, 1892, it pronounced a Municipal Death Duty not to be the most equitable method of relieving the ratepayers, and insisted upon theoretical proposals for taxing "ground values."

The abortive Bill of 1893.

Disagreement among Progressives.

Delays in producing new Bill.

But the forthcoming Session (1899) came and departed and no Bill was ever submitted to the Council.*

On August 1st, 1899, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee asked for further time to prepare a Bill (having had a year), which was granted on the condition, proposed by Unionists, that a Bill should be presented before February, 1900.

No Bill was then presented, and on October 23rd, 1900, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, and Progressive whip, said that the Committee had not had time to prepare the Bill.

THE SHAM BILL OF THE PROGRESSIVES (1900).

Provisions
of new Bill.

The Bill was at last (December 18th, 1900) presented. It was entitled the Site Values (London) Rating Bill, and provided that every Assessment Committee was to appoint a site valuer for its parish or union, who was to prepare a statement showing the site value of each hereditament, and the proportionate amounts in which each such site value was enjoyed by the various persons (if more than one) interested in each hereditament, but it *laid down no rules to guide the valuer in fixing the site values, and did not define the persons on whom the rate was to be levied.* "Site value" was defined as follows:—

(A) In the case of any hereditament which consists of land which is advertised or intended or suitable to be used for building purposes, the annual rent which an owner in fee might reasonably be expected to obtain for the hereditament under a building lease for a term of not less than eighty years, without any fine, premium, consideration or restriction, other than the usual covenants on the part of the lessee

* In the course of a debate on improvements, on June 27th, 1899, two remarkable suggestions were thrown out by Progressive Councillors. Sir Arthur Arnold suggested that the best way of bringing about the taxation of ground values was to increase the rates. Mr. John Burns, M.P., said he was asked, "*What about the taxation of ground values?*" Well, they had got to transfer that struggle from an administrative body to the legislative and Imperial body."—(*London Municipal Notes*, June 28th, 1899.)

to build, to bear the cost of repair and other expenses, if any, necessary for maintenance, and to bear all rates and taxes in respect of such hereditament properly bearable by him, and the tithe commutation rent-charge, if any, payable in respect thereof.

(B) In the case of any other hereditament, such part of the gross annual value for the time being thereof as shall be attributable exclusively to the site thereof, or if the whole of such gross annual value be attributable exclusively to the site thereof the whole of such gross annual value.

Every Borough Council was to obtain from all persons (from the freeholder down to the occupier) interested in any hereditament within its borough particulars as to their respective interests, and any person failing to make returns was to be liable to penalties. The site value rate was to be 2s. in the pound on each site value shown in the valuation list. This rate was to be collected from the occupier, but he would be entitled to deduct from the next rent he paid an amount equivalent to his payment for such rate. The person receiving such rent was (unless he was the freeholder) to deduct from his next payment of rent any amount deducted in respect of such rate from the rent he received, and so on. The site value rate was to be divided between the County Council and the Borough Council. The Bill also provided for persons proving "inability through poverty" to pay the site value rate to be excused payment by magistrates.

This Bill challenged criticism on several grounds:—

(1) The mode of assessment adopted had already been condemned by the Town Holdings Committee of the House of Commons as "impracticable," and, in its application to existing contracts, as "unfair." (*Vide infra*.)

(2) It had also been condemned by some of the most eminent economical authorities on the Progressive side. Thus, at a meeting of the London County Council, on January 16th, 1894, the late Lord Farrer said:—

Objections
to its
provisions.
Condemned
by Town
Holdings
Committee
and by
economists
on the
Progressive
side.

With regard to the possibility, by means of experts, of valuing site apart from buildings . . . I wish you to remember that you have to operate in this case.

with very rough instruments, viz., the Assessment Committees. They are not experts, and, so far as I know, they judge of the value of one house by what is given for its neighbour, and so on. But suppose you call in an expert. When you call in an expert he has scientific rules, founded on long experience, which have become absolutely established *formulae*. But what is an expert in this matter of valuation? He is a man accustomed to buying and selling. He knows the operations of buying and selling, and what is the value of a thing in the market. The value of a thing in the market, after all manner of abstruse calculation, is what I can get for it, and what an expert knows is what has been got and what is got for certain property. Now, is it just for persons to separate the land from the buildings, and no experts called in for each to enable them to advise as to the value in the case of every house in London? What amount of value is to be put on the site, and what amount of value upon the land? That is the doubt we had in the first Local Taxation Committee, and I confess that that doubt is not yet removed.—(*The L.C.C. Debates*, published by Wyman & Sons, Vol. II., No. 1, p. 6.)

And at a meeting of the London County Council, on November 3rd, 1891, Lord Hobhouse presented a report of the Local Government Committee, in which the separate assessment of site values was criticised as follows:—

We think that if Assessment Committees are ever to work such a plan, there must first be a professional valuation of reasonable accuracy, and that such a valuation for the 600,000 houses of London would take long and cost much. Assuming that it can be done, there must be much difficulty in it. A building and its site are thought of, seen, used, and dealt with in markets, public or private, as one entire thing. The market is the general criterion of value. Assessment Committees work by their local knowledge. They know what rack-rents and prices are actually got in the market, on leases and sales of houses and sites combined, in their neighbourhood. Their knowledge does not extend to hypothetical commodities, such as a site with a house on it but supposed to be without one. . . . A house without a site is inconceivable, is only old materials, and to have an annual value at all it must have a right of continuing to stand where it is. If a site is without a house, the first thing wanted is to build a house on it, and that is a costly operation, which, whether performed by owner or lessee, absorbs the annual value for many years.—(Report of Local Government and Taxation Committee of London County Council, dated June 26th, 1891, pp. 3, 4.)

It affected
lease-
holders
more than
ground
landlords.

(3) The Committee's proposal was not one for taxing the "unearned increment" in the hands of the ground landlords, but for taxing all receivers of rent. The popular impression is that the ground landlords are the persons to be taxed, whereas the persons who would have been most largely affected

by the Bill are owners of leasehold ground rents, who have no interest in the land except their rent-charge, and leaseholders generally. The Local Government Committee of the London County Council reported in 1894 (*Minutes*, 1894, p. 14), that "of the whole rent which is now paid in London for the advantages of sites, only a comparatively small fraction is in the hands of the ultimate owner of the freehold estate."

(4) The Bill left the proportionate amounts to be paid by the persons in receipt of rent to be ascertained by each valuer without any rules for his guidance. This course, which would obviously involve serious discrepancies in assessments followed by a host of appeals, was adopted because the Progressives are hopelessly divided among themselves with regard to the principle of division among the ownership interests, and are unable, as a party, to produce any definite scheme.* All the schemes hitherto produced by the conflicting sections of the Progressives would have yielded absurd results. These results would not be avoided, though they might for the time be obscured, by the proposal to leave all difficulties to the valuers.

It supplied
no rules to
guide the
valuers.

(5) Most experts are agreed that the ultimate incidence of the rates is upon the owners of property. The London County Council's own valuer has expressed the opinion, based upon special experience, that "the burden of rates falls

No ultimate
benefit
to the
ratepayers.

* The divergence between the two Progressive schools may be shown by the following example given by the valuer of the Council to illustrate the difference between the two schemes prepared by them. Each scheme prescribes rules of deduction which authorise payers of rent to deduct the site value rate (which is collected from the occupier), or some part of it, from rent paid. The rate is taken at one shilling in the £.

No. 6, TICHBORNE STREET (NOW DEMOLISHED).

Rateable Value	£250
Site Value	£130
Amount to be levied	£6 10s.

entirely upon the owners of property, and for the most part upon the owners of land." If this view is correct, the Bill would ultimately confer no benefit whatever on the ratepayers, as the burden of local taxation would be borne by the same persons that have to bear it now.

Immediate
effect upon
small
investors.

(6) The persons who would suffer most by the application of the Bill to existing contracts would be the vast class of small investors, whose aggregate property in ground rents exceeds that of the great owners. Evidence was given before the Town Holdings Committee, in April, 1891, that there are hundreds of thousands of the industrial and middle classes who have small savings invested in ground rents through the instrumentality of benefit and insurance societies, besides

Interest.	Rent.		Net payment for Site Value Rate under two schemes.	
	Received.	Paid.	Scheme One.	Scheme Two.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
A Occupying Lessee, 7 years from 1866	Nil.	250 0 0	Nil.	Nil.
B Lessee, 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ years from 1866	250 0 0	163 0 0	4 7 0	Nil.
C Lessee, 21 years from 1865	163 0 3	140 0 0	1 3 0	Nil.
D Building Lessee, 72 years from 1843	140 0 0	17 10 0	0 2 6	5 12 6
E Freeholder	17 10 0	Nil.	0 17 6	0 17 6

It will be observed that B in the above example would have to pay £4 7s. out of a total levy of £6 10s., or about two-thirds of the entire amount, under one scheme, but nothing under the other; while D (really the principal beneficial owner) would have to pay £5 12s. 6d. under one scheme, but only 2s. 6d. under the other! This essential difference between the advocates of the "Site Value" system points to some inherent defects in the system itself. This may be found in the proposed valuation of the site of a house as if no house existed thereon. It is impossible to devise any general rules by which the capital value of a site so ascertained can be equitably apportioned amongst the actual rents fixed and being paid in respect of the whole property (house and site) as it stands.

innumerable private investors and trustees who purchase ground rents as a safe investment, and can ill afford to be victimised by extra taxation. These persons cannot prove "inability through poverty" to pay, and they would lose one-tenth of their incomes, with a proportionate fall in the capital value of their investments, under the Bill.

In 1901 the Site Values (London) Rating Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, too late to have the slightest chance of making any progress.

Nothing more has been done with the Bill.

THE BILL ABANDONED.

In the following year, at a meeting of the London County Council on March 4th, the Parliamentary Committee presented a recommendation that steps should be taken for the re-introduction of the Bill, but an amendment was carried to the effect that the Council re-affirms its opinion on the subject of the taxation of ground rents, and instructs the Local Government and Taxation Committee to report to the Council as soon as possible upon the proposals contained in the minority report of the Royal Commission.—(*Times*, March 6, 1902.)

The Bill
abandoned
in 1902.

STILL NO BILL: ONLY "AN ELECTION CRY."

At a meeting of the London County Council on December 1st, 1903, a Radical Councillor moved a resolution referring to the resolution carried in the previous year, and expressing the opinion that the subject should again be brought before Parliament without further delay. The mover of the resolution "*frankly admitted that this was an election cry*" (*Daily Chronicle*, Dec. 2, 1903), but an amendment proposed by two Conservative Councillors to the effect that, "in view of the

1903: An
"Election
Cry."

ever-increasing charge on the London ratepayers, the Government be invited to take into immediate consideration the proposals contained in the report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation for the relief of rates, and to introduce measures of reform without delay," was rejected and the resolution was carried.—(*Times*, Dec. 2, 1903.)

Thus the Progressive majority are still unable to produce any practical scheme of their own, but are still resolved to keep the subject to the front as an "Election Cry," and to oppose the practical proposals made by Conservative Councillors.

ACTION OF UNIONIST GOVERNMENTS.

While the Progressives on the London County Council have been occupied in propounding general proposals which they have failed to embody in any workable scheme, the Unionist party in Parliament has been promoting impartial inquiries into the problems of local taxation with a view to practical legislation.

Lord Salisbury's Government of 1886-92 re-appointed the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Town Holdings, with instructions to inquire, *inter alia*, "into the question of imposing a direct assessment on the owners of ground rents and on the owners of increased values imparted to land by building operations or other improvements." The Report of this Committee, presented in May, 1892, at the close of an inquiry extending through nearly seven sessions, and after hearing an immense amount of evidence, states that "no sufficient cause has been shown for interfering with existing contracts relating to the payment of rates, and the methods proposed to the Committee for altering such contracts would be unfair, and would inflict injury without any compensating benefit," but recommends, as regards future contracts,

a division of rates between the occupier and the various ownership interests. It also states that "the proposals made to the Committee for a distinct annual assessment on reversions, according to their present values, and for the separate assessment of ground values and building values, are impracticable"; that "the proposal to rate vacant building land on its capital value is a total departure from the existing basis of local taxation, and would be practically very difficult in operation"; and that "the proposal to rate reversions upon their present values is also open to the same objections."

It has long been felt that no reform of the present system of local taxation will be satisfactory which does not bring under contribution those forms of property which now escape all local burdens.* The need of dealing with the problem on these broad lines has been asserted on several occasions by the late Prime Minister. Thus at Birmingham, on November 24th, 1891, the late Lord Salisbury said:—

Defects of
the present
system.

I have always entertained the opinion, and expressed it for many, many years, that our rating system is singularly ineffective and imperfect, and that we do not draw into the taxation—which is to do work in which the whole community is interested,—we do not draw all kinds of property into that taxation. I should

Speeches
of Lord
Salisbury.

* The late Mr. Costelloe, who was the Progressive Chairman of the Local Government Committee of the London County Council, in his evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Town Holdings, on August 1st, 1890, after explaining his scheme of a Municipal Death Duty, said: "If . . . anyone objects that the scheme I have suggested would be putting a considerable tax upon persons who may have invested in incomes, limited or otherwise, to be derived out of land, and that that would place them on a different footing from those who live on the produce of stock or on dividends, I can only say that I am quite willing to join in levelling the latter up; and I think it is beyond doubt that they now pay far too little."—(*Report*, Town Holdings, 1890, p. 316.) The Progressives, however, have always opposed any reform in this direction. On the other hand, the Conservatives, at the County Council, in January, 1894 (*Minutes*, p. 17), supported an amendment expressing the opinion that "the necessary revision of taxation should be in the direction of making personal property as well as real property bear a fair share of local expenditure."

be very glad to see that anomaly corrected. I believe that the exclusive operation of the law of rating tends to discourage the building of small houses in towns and on the outskirts of towns, and that, therefore, it is a great evil, and is adding to the difficulties, which we already feel so much, of housing the more necessitous part of our population. The only thing that you have to guard against is that this particular grievance, which is the real one, should not be made the occasion or opportunity for the gratification of some particular class or political antipathy. If the question of all the interests in land being brought under the net of the rate collector is raised, then I quite admit that if you think it necessary to raise that question it will be a very difficult and thorny one, and that there is a great deal of logic on that side. But you must bring in the mortgagee and debenture-holder as well as the ground rent owner or else you will not do justice.

And at Newport, Monmouthshire, on November 29th, 1893, the late Lord Salisbury said :—

There is no doubt that the present rating law, originally made 300 years ago, and strangely altered by judicial decisions since, has had this effect—that it only leaves a very small proportion of the property of the country liable to support the demands that are placed upon the rates. I have no desire myself to disturb any arrangement which is consecrated by long usage, and of which, consequently, the difficulties are well known and can be avoided ; but if you have to deal with the liability to rates, remember this—that the statute of Elizabeth provided that personal as well as real property should be liable to the rates, but that in the course of ages personal property—being about four-fifths of the property of the country—has escaped payment altogether, and has left the whole burden upon its elder brother, real property, which is only one-fifth of the property of the country. If there is any change it must be to that anomaly that your attention must be directed.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL TAXATION.

Royal Com-
mission on
Local
Taxation

In order that the whole question might be thoroughly investigated, Lord Salisbury's Government appointed a Royal Commission "to inquire into the present system under which taxation is raised for local purposes and report whether all kinds of real and personal property contribute equitably to such taxation, and if not, what alterations in the law are desirable in order to secure that result." This Commission collected a large mass of evidence, and presented in 1899

an *interim* report recommending a scheme to secure greater uniformity in valuation, and in 1901 a final report [C.—638] dealing with the whole question and containing an elaborate series of recommendations.

The grievances of ratepayers are thus summarised :—

- (1) Complaint is made on behalf of ratepayers in general that there is thrown on the rates too much of the cost of certain national services which the State requires to be undertaken, and the burden of which, it is alleged, ought consequently to be borne on the broader back of the taxpayer.
- (2) Complaint is made on behalf of ratepayers in certain districts that the burden of these services is heavier than in other districts.
- (3) Complaint is made that local expenditure is met in too large a measure by what is in effect a tax levied in respect of the occupation of rateable property, or, in other words, that sufficient variety has not been given to the means by which the revenue required by Local Authorities is raised.
- (4) Complaint is made that those who possess and enjoy property not rateable are placed in too favourable a position as compared with the owners and occupiers of rateable property.
- (5) Complaint is made on behalf of special classes of ratepayers (*e.g.*, those interested in agriculture and in certain industries and trades) that, inasmuch as they require for their business an amount of rateable property very large in proportion to their general ability, an undue share of local burdens is imposed upon them, as compared with persons who neither own nor occupy any rateable property except their own residence. It is felt especially strongly that the increase of an onerous rate falls with great inequality.
- (6) Complaint is made by urban ratepayers and ratepayers other than agricultural in agricultural districts that, relief having been given under the Agricultural Rates Act to agricultural ratepayers, no corresponding relief has been given to urban ratepayers, or to ratepayers other than agricultural in agricultural districts.
- (7) Complaint is made on behalf of urban ratepayers that all the rates are paid by occupiers and none by the owners of land (at least directly), although the owners of land benefit largely by the development of towns and by expenditure from the rates on improvements.

Grievances
of Rate-
payers.

Some of these complaints are pronounced to be contradictory and some shadowy, but, on the whole, it is agreed that relief ought to be given, following the principle that the distinction should be maintained in local expenditure between

national or onerous services, on the one hand, and local or beneficial services, on the other. Poor relief, police and criminal prosecutions, education, and the maintenance of main roads are held to belong predominantly to the former class, though, in practice, the two classes shade off into one another. But to furnish a remedy measured by the "ability" of the contributory class is difficult. Some suggested methods—such as a local income tax and a local house duty—are put aside as impracticable. The general conclusion is :—

**Methods
of Redress.**

Summing up the various considerations to which we have adverted in this chapter, we conclude that, in general, the funds for national services ought to be raised in accordance with the principle of ability. This principle might be secured to a great extent by transferring them wholly to the Central Government; but such a solution of the problem is out of the question on practical grounds. On the other hand, no mere readjustment of burden within each locality would meet the demands of equity. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the grievances which we have set forth cannot be remedied without either a direct contribution from the Exchequer or the extension and development of the system of assigned revenues which has been in existence since 1889.

**Personalty
inade-
quately
charged.**

These alternative policies—the first being that advocated by Sir E. Hamilton and Sir G. Murray, while the latter is that to which the majority of the Commissioners adhere—form the centre of the discussion. From this point of view the development of Lord Goschen's policy is analysed in the majority report. It is contended that, after all the modifications introduced, personalty is still inadequately charged for local purposes as compared with realty. While personal property subject to Imperial taxation is about three times as great as real property so chargeable, the non-rateable property contributes to local objects—if elementary education be excluded—only a little over 6 per cent. of the whole expenditure, while nearly 83 per cent. falls on the rates. **To remedy this inequality in some measure it is suggested that there should be an increased payment from the Death Duties on personalty for local purposes; that the transfer of**

**Remedies
for Relief
of Local
Taxation.**

trading licences and of establishment licences should be made complete and power given to increase their amount ; and that the local assignment of the beer and spirit surtaxes should be maintained. With regard to new imposts, the transfer of the land tax in aid of the local revenues is rejected, as the charge has become complicated and unequal through the working of redemption. The assignment of a fixed portion of the income tax is said to be “deserving of favourable consideration.” The transfer of the existing Inhabited House Duty from the Imperial to the local account is recommended. After reviewing the objections, the Report says :—

It is clear that, speaking generally, the localities on which this tax falls most heavily are the most highly rated urban districts, and we think it wrong to assume that the tax would be distributed “in proportion to the value of the inhabited houses of the better class.” In many districts, especially in rural districts, the houses which escape the tax are of a better class than houses on which the burden of the tax is very severely felt in other districts, and, if we are right in our conclusion that the tax is one which it is unjust to levy for Imperial purposes on a limited class of persons somewhat arbitrarily selected, we see no injustice in handing it over to the relief of the rates of the districts in which these persons live. Moreover, the Inhabited House Duty is a graduated tax, paid at higher rates in the case of houses exceeding certain values : it is levied at lower rates on farmhouses, publichouses, shops, warehouses, and lodging-houses, and houses not of the annual value of £20 are exempt from it altogether. It therefore affords an excellent means of adjusting the disproportionate pressure upon the smaller occupiers, which, as we have above observed, is one of the unsatisfactory features of the existing system. We do not propose, however, that local authorities should have power to alter the amount or the incidence of the tax.

Transfer of
Inhabited
House
Duty
Recom-
mended.

While it is contended that the State should contribute more largely in aid of local burdens under the “assigned revenues” plan, it is acknowledged that central control must be exercised and that assistance must be “made dependent on compliance with conditions designed to secure efficiency and to prevent extravagance.” Modifications to secure this object more certainly are suggested. But the main feature

Larger
State
Subven-
tions.

in the section devoted to the relief of rates is the enumeration of the increased “grants”—to use this term with some laxity—that are required and the supplementary grants that are claimed. To the former belong the existing Poor Law grants, the pauper lunatics maintenance grant, and the police grant; to the latter a pauper lunatic accommodation grant, grants for Poor Law children and for sick and infirm in workhouses, for residual Poor Law outlay, and for maintaining main roads. It is proposed also that the whole cost of criminal prosecutions and the conveyance and maintenance of prisoners should be borne by the State. The issue of more explicit directions as to the expenditure on technical education and the simplification of the local taxation accounts complete this part of the scheme.

The financial result works out thus:—The “assigned revenues” in 1899–1900 from local taxation, licences, death duties and beer and spirits (excluding the relief under the Agricultural Rates Act) yielded £7,145,018. The local taxation budget, as modified by the recommendations of the Report, involves an expenditure of £9,715,000, of which nearly one half is made up of Poor Law grants, more than two millions for police, &c., a million for main roads, and an equal sum as free surplus for expenditure by the councils. The State would thus have to furnish additional revenues to the extent of £2,570,000 a year, to be provided in some of the ways suggested.

Exemptions from Rating.

As to exemptions from rating, the Report maintains that they are “inadvisable” and should on no account be extended, but does not recommend their abolition where granted by Act of Parliament and made the basis of existing arrangements. The objections to the system of compounding for rates are admitted, but it is not held practicable to abolish the system in the case of small tenancies with weekly rents.

The recommendations as to the rating of special properties—machinery, railways, gasworks, mines, &c.—go largely into technical details. With regard to the rating of machinery the conclusion is :—

Having regard to all the history and circumstances of the case, we are of opinion that the adoption of the proposals contained in the Bill introduced into the House of Commons in 1899, as to the class of machinery which should be taken into account in estimating the rateable value of premises containing machinery, would be a fair solution of this difficult problem. These proposals exclude the classes of machinery which, in our opinion, it is desirable should be exempted. The law as to what machinery should be included in the assessment of premises containing it would also be more precise ; greater uniformity in practice among Assessment Committees would be secured, and the probability of litigation lessened.

We therefore recommend that in estimating the rateable value of any hereditament occupied for trade, business, or manufacturing purposes, there shall be excluded from the assessment any increased value arising from machines, tools, or appliances which are not fixed or are only so fixed that they can be removed from their place without necessitating the removal of any part of the hereditament. But the value of any machinery, machine or plant used in or on the hereditament for producing or transmitting first motive power, or for heating or lighting the hereditament, should be included.

FINDINGS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS ON THE RATING OF LAND VALUES.

In Chapter IX. of their final report, the Commissioners deal with proposals for the rating of land values. They find that, inasmuch as the value of the land is included in the valuation of the rateable hereditament as a whole, ground rents and feu duties are already taxed, a conclusion which appears to them to be equally applicable to all the other varying contractual interests in the land upon which it is proposed that some new and special burden should be placed. They also find that the real as opposed to the apparent incidence of local taxation in towns falls partly upon the owner of the land, partly upon the house owner, and partly upon the occupier, and that it is impracticable to lay down

Ground
Rents
already
taxed.

any general rule as to the proportions in which the burden is distributed, or to determine it in individual cases. And they see no reason to believe that there are any special benefits to the landowners from expenditure incurred by local authorities which the landowners are not practically called upon to bear whenever new rents are fixed. Turning to the various schemes placed before them for the separate valuation of land and buildings, the Commissioners think that, although it cannot be said that it would be impossible to assign separate values to site and structure, especially where a comparison could be made with neighbouring property of a similar character which had been recently let, such a system would certainly be attended with considerable uncertainty, complication and expense. They point out that the valuation of every site, upon the basis of the rent which might be obtained for it if it were cleared, would be highly speculative where no means of comparison was ready at hand, and even where such means existed many varying factors, such as rights of light, and the existence of easements, and other restrictive covenants, would have to be allowed for, and the circumstances of the surrounding property closely investigated. As the term for which a lease was granted approached its termination, further difficulties would arise, especially where the capacity of the site might not be fully utilised by the buildings then standing. When all these questions had been considered, the results would be so hypothetical in character that a large number of appeals and attendant expense would be inevitable. Any further departure from the basis of fact, and the consequent extension of the element of hypothesis in the valuation of property, is obviously to be avoided if practicable, and they are unable to concur in the view expressed by the various supporters of the scheme, that the ends which they respectively have in view would justify the introduction of an admittedly difficult and intricate system which would certainly

Objection
to separate
valuation
of land
and
buildings.

result in further inequalities of valuation as between one ratepayer and another. They

Cannot concur in the suggestion that it would be equitable to select land as a particular class of property and place on it a burden in addition to that which it bears in common with all other rateable properties.

Such a proposal does not appear to them to be justified upon either of the two grounds which have hitherto formed the basis of our system of local taxation, since—

Neither in respect of their ability to pay, nor of the benefits which they receive, does it appear to us that the owners of land values, using the term in its widest sense, contribute inequitably to local expenditure at the present time, as compared with the owners of other classes of rateable property.

It would be difficult, in their opinion, to maintain any effective distinction between sites which have increased and sites which have diminished in value; but, even if it were possible, land is not the only class of rateable property the value of which may be enhanced by circumstances beyond the influence or control of its owners, and they see no reason why, by reason of such enhancement of value, it should be placed in a new and separate category so far as rating is concerned. In any case, however, it is obvious that, if a special burden is to be imposed on land, on the ground of any increase of its value, the object could not be equitably met by the imposition of a new rate on site value from year to year. The extent of such increase varies not only as between district and district, but as between different parts of the same district, and in some cases there is either no increase at all, or a diminution of value. The imposition of a new rate of any given amount upon the annual value of all property in land would, therefore, bring into existence new inequalities of liability, unless measures were taken to differentiate not only between district and district, but between property and property—"an obligation which, in our opinion, could not be satisfied by any possible modification of the

Existing
Contracts.

existing rating machinery." A further difficulty arises in considering the manner in which existing contracts should be dealt with. The Commissioners

See no justification for allowing existing contracts to be broken for the benefit of occupiers who have not shown that, as between themselves and the owners, those contracts are unjust. Trustees and others have purchased ground rents on the faith of contracts that the occupiers should pay all rates on the properties which secure the ground rents, and all such persons would be injuriously affected by the proposed schemes, for the benefit of occupiers who, through their representatives, incur and control the expenditure which falls on the rates. Other advocates of the special tax proposed have, however, expressed their desire to leave such contracts undisturbed in any manner whatever, the result being that large numbers of owners who have accepted fixed rents for fixed periods, extending to 99 and 999 years, or even in perpetuity, on condition that their lessees shall bear all rates and taxes, would be entirely unaffected by the proposal. The new tax would, in such cases, fall to be borne by the lessees, who are not only already rated to the full extent of the enhanced value of the property, but whose interest in it is often gradually diminishing in value, both by reason of the effluxion of time and the growth of waste and dilapidations. The case of a purchaser of a 99 years' lease of a house, subject to a ground rent, may be cited as a case in point. Large numbers of such leases have been purchased in recent years through the instrumentality of building societies and other provident organizations. The value of the hereditament to the lessee increases but slowly, his capital outlay should be replaced, and the lessor's claim for dilapidations will ultimately fall to be met. It would be difficult in such cases to reconcile the lessee to the justice of imposing upon him a new and special tax, from which the lessor would be exempted by reason of the existence of a contract having still a long term to run, and a particular form of thrift which Parliament has in the past done much to protect and promote would be seriously prejudiced.

Concluding their observations on this subject, the Commissioners remark that—

The advocates of what would be in effect a new land tax, to be applied in aid of local expenditure, have failed to convince us that it would be equitable to select a particular class of rateable property for the imposition of a new and special burden. No new tax on land appears to us to be required to meet any special expenditure incurred by local authorities for its benefit, nor does land differ so essentially from other property, as regards the alteration of its value from time to time, as to justify it being rated exceptionally. In any case it would, we believe, be impracticable to ascertain what that alteration may be—a problem which must of necessity be solved if the tax is to be of equal incidence; whilst the practical difficulties of ascertaining even the annual value of what is one element only in the value of the

rateable hereditament, and of paying due regard to the existence of contracts having either a perpetual existence or a long term of run, constitute, in our judgment, additional reasons against any alteration of our rating system in the direction proposed.

This chapter of the Report is signed by Earl Cawdor, Sir John Hibbert, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, K.C., M.P., Mr. C. N. Dalton, C.B., Mr. C. A. Cripps, K.C., M.P., Mr. Harcourt E. Clare, Mr. T. H. Elliott, C.B., Mr. E. Orford Smith, and Mr. John L. Wharton, M.P. Two

MINORITY REPORTS

also deal with the subject. One, signed by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Blair Balfour, Sir Edward Hamilton, Sir George Murray, and (with reservations) Mr. James Stuart, confirms some of the most important findings of the majority.

The minority say that "the making of a contract for a lease or tenancy is, on the whole, a transaction carried out in a deliberate manner, on business principles," that "intending tenants do take the rates into account," that "the scheme of division of rates must be rejected as a whole," and that neither the scheme of the London County Council for the separate rating of site values nor the rival scheme proposed by Mr. Fletcher Moulton "is workable or equitable." Their "main objection to both these schemes, and to others like them, is that they impose a burden upon the rents which tenants have covenanted to pay free of all rates, and which have in many cases been purchased by investors in the open market on that understanding. . . . Legislation enabling occupiers to violate the contracts which they have deliberately made, and to escape the obligations which they have solemnly undertaken, would be, in our opinion, indefensible. We could admit no compromise on this matter of principle." They suggest, however, that a valuation of sites should be made, and that special site value rates should be levied alongside

The scheme of the London County Council condemned by the minority as well as by the majority of the Commissioners.

Recommendations of the minority.

of the existing rates. They regard the question of the party on whom the rate is to be charged as one of sentiment and temporary convenience, but they are "disposed to recommend that under future contracts the site value rate should be charged partly on owners and partly on occupiers," and that "the rate should be collected in the first place from the person at present liable to pay rates, and no deduction should be permitted from rents fixed under existing contracts; but the share of the rate chargeable on owners should be deducted from all rents hereafter fixed, and all agreements to the contrary should be declared of no effect." They admit that the effect would be, to a limited extent, to increase the burden upon occupiers, and suggest that the new charge should be counterbalanced by further relief to be granted in the shape of increased subventions. They further propose that "the purposes for which the site value rate might be raised should in the first place be defined by Statute," that these purposes "should be strictly limited to expenditure tending to increase directly the value of urban land," and that "the rate in the £ of the new impost should be strictly limited by Parliament." The other minority Report is signed only by Judge O'Connor, K.C., who takes the view that all local rates should be borne by "the land interests of the locality," but agrees that "equity requires that all existing contracts should be absolutely respected."

LEGISLATION PROMISED BY MR. BALFOUR'S GOVERNMENT.

Legislation
promised.

The present Government are pledged to introduce legislation dealing with the whole subject of local taxation.

In the debate in the House of Commons on the Urban Site Value Rating Bill, on February 19th, 1902, the Secretary to the Local Government Board said :—

If the question was to be touched, it ought to be touched by the Government, and the Government would deal with it. He was not at liberty to say how the Government would deal with it, but he was perfectly certain that there would not be found in any Government measure any proposal to deal with things, not as they were, but as they might be, or to take such a solid and substantial thing as a house, and say it was to be regarded as if it were not where it stood.—(*Hansard.*)

Again, in the debate in the House of Commons on the Land Values Assessment and Rating Bill, on March 27th, 1903, the Secretary to the Local Government Board said :—

The real solution was to obtain contributions from other forms of property than the form which was now rated, and the passing of the Bill would only delay the steps which the Government would shortly have to take for the reconsideration of the whole question of the incidence of the taxation.—(*Hansard.*)

RECOUPMENT *v.* BETTERMENT.

The evidence given by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre in April, 1899, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the County Council Improvements Bill of that year, amounted to a striking vindication by a Radical leader of a principle which the Unionist party has steadily maintained and the Progressives have as steadily resisted. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre said “he had carefully considered the relations between the betterment principle and recoupment. He had never recommended betterment as a substitute for recoupment. *In any public improvement he had always regarded recoupment as the best mode of getting the increment of value arising from the improvement in aid of the cost of the scheme.* But there were other cases in which betterment was the best plan.” The words in italics state the position of the Conservative party exactly. Everyone agrees that, when property can be shown to be specially benefited by public improvements, such benefit should, as far as possible, go to the public who have paid for the improvements, but there are two methods of obtaining this benefit for the public. The

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre on recoupment and betterment

The Conservative policy justified.

first is the method of "Recoupment," under which local authorities are allowed to take, under compulsory powers, land adjoining improvements, with a view to recouping the cost of the improvements by a resale at the enhanced value. The second is the method of "Betterment," which places on property specially benefited a charge representing some part (under recent Acts one-half) of the enhanced value. It has always been clear to the Conservatives, and has at last dawned upon the Progressives, that recoupment is, in most cases, the more profitable method of the two, for, in the first place, it gives to the public the whole (instead of half) of the enhanced value, and, in the second place, it avoids the costly system of assessments, followed by law suits, which is inseparable from betterment. In the case of the southern approach to the Tower Bridge, the Progressives insisted upon applying the betterment principle, but they have never been able to show that it has succeeded there. The Strand Improvement Scheme has been carried out exclusively on the recoupment principle.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

AN important point, which appears to excite more interest every year, is as to the powers and duties which should properly be undertaken by the County Council and the Borough Councils respectively.

The report of the Royal Commission of 1894 upon London Government dealt with the relation of central to local government, and stated that "a consideration of the evidence we have received confirms the opinion suggested by the course of previous inquiries and of legislation—or, in other words, by the historic development of the Metropolis—that the government of London must be entrusted to one body, exercising certain functions throughout all the areas covered by the name, and to a number of local bodies exercising certain other functions within the local areas which collectively make up London, the central body and the local bodies deriving their authority as representative bodies by direct election, and the functions assigned to each being determined so as to secure complete independence and responsibility to every member of the system" (para. 22).

This double aspect of unity and separability having been accorded general acceptance, "any controversy that remains," said the report, "turns upon the partition of powers between this central and these local bodies."

The principle laid down by the report was this: "We think it important, for the sake of the dignity and usefulness

of the local bodies, whose status should be enhanced as much as possible, as well as for the sake of the central body—where a continuous increase of work may be expected, requiring relief from needless administrative detail—that no duties shall be thrown upon the central body that can be equally well performed by the local authorities” (para. 106).

The Commissioners further suggested that “It might be well, in any legislation, to provide some machinery for such a repartition of functions between the central and local authorities as experience might prove desirable, without having recourse to Parliament in each particular case” (para. 107). In developing this principle the Commissioners thought that “everything should be done to maintain the strength, authority and dignity of the local bodies of London.”

The London Government Act of 1899 established the Borough Councils, transferred certain powers from the London County Council to the boroughs, and provided machinery for a future transfer of duties when rendered necessary by the overburdened state of the central body.

Section 5, sub-section 3, of the Act, enacts that:—“The Local Government Board may, if they think fit, on the application of the London County Council and of the majority of the Borough Councils, make a Provisional Order for transferring to all the Borough Councils any power exercisable by the County Council, or for transferring to the County Council any power exercisable by the Borough Councils.”

Since the Borough Councils were constituted by the London Government Act, 1899, they have shown a natural desire to carry out all duties in their own boroughs, which are of a local as distinct from a central character.

It is also important from another point of view that this should be done: the County Council has already such an immense amount of work to do that it is most expedient that no further burden of work should be cast upon its members which could be as well done by the local authorities.

In fact, the Royal Commission, which investigated the conditions of London Government, expressly reported to that effect, and whilst retaining central duties or those common to the whole of the metropolis, such as main drainage, fire brigade, parks, &c., to the County Council, the Commissioners went on to say that other duties of a local character might well be given to the Borough Councils.

Rightly enough, this is the proper municipal spirit, and ought to be encouraged by every possible legitimate means. It was always intended when the old Vestries were superseded by the Borough Councils, and Vestrymen by Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors, that new and further duties should be given to them, and no doubt it was rightly thought that in order to attract men of good standing to the service of the new municipalities, it would be both politic and natural that further powers should be conferred upon them.

And yet, in spite of this testimony, the Radical majority on the County Council exhibit a jealousy and distrust of the Borough Councils which is simply contemptible. Many Aldermen and Councillors of the latter are men of greater ability and experience than a considerable number of those who, by strange accidents, find themselves elected to the County Council, and yet these latter affect a lofty and superior air whenever a question as to which authority should undertake certain work has to be determined.

It is not too much to say that nearly all the Borough Councils have felt resentment at some time or other at the manner in which the County Council treats them on various questions, and notably on the one of division of powers and duties. This is a most unfortunate state of affairs, and ought not to exist: there is plenty of room for both authorities to work side by side, each striving to do its own work in the best possible manner; and, further, the members ought to show that respect and regard for each other's work which the nature of the public duties they have undertaken imperatively demands.

The County Council is the authority under the following among other Acts:—Lunacy, Ancient Monuments Protection, Weights and Measures, Shop Hours, Inebriates, Education, Tramway, London Building, Infant Life Protection, &c., &c.; and, of course, it is well known that it carries out the great central services of the Metropolis.

The Borough Councils have powers under the Public Health (London) Acts, Infectious Diseases, Public Libraries, Factory and Workshop, Housing of Working Classes, Cremation, Labour Bureaux, &c., &c., in addition to their ordinary work of lighting, cleansing, paving and maintaining the streets, &c.

It will thus be seen how wide a field of work there is both for the central and local governing authorities of this great city.

A point of controversy has long been smouldering respecting the position of District Surveyors. At present they are appointed by the County Council, and their duties are to report as to new, or alterations of, existing buildings, &c., in their

district, and to carry out the duties imposed by the Building Act.

Many of the Borough Councils think this work could be done as efficiently and at less cost by their own Surveyors, who have now to inspect the buildings for sanitary and health requirements, but have no power as regards the structure, while the District Surveyors have little or no powers on sanitary matters. Such division of work seems to be absurd, and gives unnecessary trouble to builders and owners, who have to give the notices to two authorities instead of one, and delay and extra expense often result therefrom. In the municipalities of the country no such trouble arises; the Corporation is the authority for all purposes, and no trouble is experienced in carrying out the duties by the Borough Surveyor.

It has been stated by Radicals that the Borough Surveyors are not competent to carry out the work required! But this is strongly denied, and the fees payable by the owners or builders would enable the local authorities to engage men of the best qualifications and experience.

Several minor powers have already been transferred from the County to the Borough Councils, and if the duties of the District Surveyors were also so transferred, it would give great satisfaction to the local authorities, and would relieve the central authority of a great deal of work. But the Radicals will not trust the Borough Councillors, either with that or any other duty they can help, and so the distrust is kept up while the present Radical majority reigns triumphantly.

The Conservative Municipal policy is to entrust the Borough Councils with all such powers of a local character

as they can best carry out; the Radical policy apparently is to distrust the local authorities, to sneer at their capacity, and to exalt the County Council to a far greater extent than was intended by Parliament when it passed the Acts under which both authorities were constituted.

Let us hope a better feeling will speedily be shown, and the electors can powerfully help this forward by sending men of integrity and experience to represent them on both authorities.

PORT OF LONDON.

INCREASED DOCK AND RIVER SERVICES.

IN the early part of 1900 the question of the administration and accommodation of the docks in the Port of London came under public discussion, in consequence of Bills introduced by the Dock Companies, and Mr. Ritchie, then President of the Board of Trade, received, amongst other deputations, one from the London County Council, to urge the necessity of an enquiry being instituted into the whole subject.

The deputation was composed of members of both parties, and urged that, owing to so many authorities having control over the river, docks, wharves, &c., much confusion was created, and numerous interests overlapped, with a result disastrous to the best interests of the port.

The charges were higher than elsewhere, and large ships were unable to come to the port from various causes. The question had not been investigated since 1799, and in the meantime numerous other seaports had greatly increased their dock accommodation, and many foreign ports were now ahead of London in shipping facilities.

No definite proposals were put forward by the Council, the case being confined to one for an enquiry.

Mr. Ritchie said the matter was of vital importance to the well-being of London. He thought the remarks made justified an enquiry being held, and that the Dock Companies

would also agree to the proposal. He hoped it might be possible to arrange for a full enquiry into the whole subject, and he assured the deputation the matter should have his earnest consideration.

The result was that the Unionist Government appointed a Royal Commission with the following reference :—

To enquire into—

The present administration of the Port of London and the water approaches thereto ;

The adequacy of the accommodation provided for vessels and the loading and unloading thereof ;

The system of charge for such accommodation ;

The arrangements for warehousing dutiable goods ;

And to report whether any change or improvement, in regard to any of the above matters, is necessary for the promotion of the trade of the port and the public interest.

The Commission issued its report in June, 1902.

The report dealt with the present administration of the port, and the water approaches thereto ; the accommodation provided for vessels, and the loading and unloading thereof ; the system of charge for such accommodation ; and the arrangements for warehousing dutiable goods.

The Commissioners find, as a fact, that the river channels and the docks are inadequate to meet the increased size of steamers ; that the tendency of all main ocean traffic is for cargoes to be carried in very large steamers ; and that the ports affording accommodation for the large ships will attract the trade from other ports, in spite of custom and tradition.

This particularly applies to exported goods, and may probably account for the insignificant increase in the export trade of London during the last twenty years. The apparent danger is that ports like Rotterdam may usurp London's position as a distributor of oversea traffic, and may even re-export to London itself in smaller vessels. This means the loss to the Port of London of shipping dues, and the labour and charges for handling the goods thus transhipped.

The Commissioners come to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary to get rid of the present chaos of authorities by the formation of a single port authority.

The Commissioners recommend that—

The constitution of the Proposed Authority.

“(1) The port authority should consist of about forty persons, partly nominated and partly elected.

“(2) On the assumption that the London County Council and the City Corporation accept the financial responsibilities which we have recommended, the nominated members should be appointed by the following bodies:—

(a)	By the London County Council	..	11	members
(b)	By the City Corporation	..	3	„
(c)	By the Admiralty	..	1	„
(d)	By the Board of Trade	..	1	„
(e)	By the Trinity House	..	1	„
(f)	By the Kent County Council	..	1	„
(g)	By the Essex County Council	..	1	„
(h)	By the London Chamber of Commerce	2		„
(i)	By the Governors of the Bank of England from among persons belonging to the mercantile community of London	..	5	„

“(3) The elected members should be elected by different groups of voters, viz. :—

- | | | |
|---|---|---------|
| (j) By the oversea (or ocean) trading shipowners | 5 | members |
| (k) By the short-sea trading shipowners | 2 | „ |
| (l) By the wharfingers and owners of private warehouses on the river | 3 | „ |
| (m) By owners of lighters, barges and river craft, including river passenger steamers | 2 | „ |
| (n) By railway companies connecting with the docks | 2 | „ ” |

The Commissioners also recommend the constitution of a statutory committee for the management of the docks and works of dock improvement, which should consist of members appointed by the port authority, with power to co-opt some experts.

Financial
Responsi-
bilities.

The financial responsibilities of the London County Council and the City Corporation (above referred to) are—

- (1) That the London County Council and the City Corporation, in proportions to be agreed, should provide the capital, estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, needful for the deepening, widening and improving of the river channels.
- (2) Should guarantee the payment of the interest upon the stock to be created by the port authority.

It is proposed that the port authority should have power to purchase the undertakings of the dock companies, and for this purpose should create a port stock, bearing interest at a rate guaranteed, as above explained. This stock would be issued to each

company as a consideration for the value of its undertaking.

In addition to the stock so raised, the Commissioners suggest that the authority should issue an additional port stock for the $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, which is proposed to be expended on improvements and extensions of the docks, and which, they think, may fairly be expected to be a productive outlay.

The Commissioners think “that the port authority should be empowered :— Sources of Revenue.

- (1) To retain the powers now possessed by the Thames Conservancy of levying dues upon ships which enter the port.
- (2) To levy, subject to the statutory maximum, dock tonnage dues upon all ships which enter the docks, and to fix charges upon goods landed in the docks other than those dealt with on overside conditions.
- (3) To levy annual licensing dues upon barges.
- (4) To impose dues upon import goods entering the port, except goods for transhipment, subject to maxima for different classes.”

The Commissioners further state that, subject to due safeguards, the port authority should have some general powers to adopt other modes of raising revenue.

“The Commissioners recommend that all the powers and property of the Thames Conservancy in connection with the river below Teddington should be vested in the new authority, Powers of the Authority. at and from the date to be appointed for the commencement of operations under the constituting Act. The powers of the Trinity House, so far as they relate to the area of the Port of London, as defined by the constituting Act, should also be

transferred at the same date. All the powers of the Watermen's Company connected with the licensing and control of watermen and lightermen, and the regulation of lighters and other craft, should also be transferred to the new authority."

Docks.

The report also recommends the consolidation of all the public docks in the hands of the port authority, and proposes that the authority shall have power to purchase the docks, with the exception of the Limehouse Dock, which is practically the mouth of a canal, and the Poplar and other railway docks, which fall into a category different from that of the large public docks.

Ware-
houses.

The Commissioners state that the reasons for entrusting the authority "with the control of the river and the docks do not apply with the same force to the case of the warehouses. The requirements of the port in this respect appear to have been sufficiently met by private capital and enterprise." In addition, they state their object to be not to unnecessarily burden the new authority. Anticipating the difficulty, in some cases, of separating the warehouses and quays, however, they recommend that the port authority should have power to purchase the warehouses of the dock companies. Then they state, "We think, however, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the Port of London, and in view of the division of trade between the docks and the riverside traders, it may be found to be inexpedient that the new authority should carry on, permanently, the business of warehousing. We are of opinion, therefore, that the authority, after taking over the warehouses, should," subject to conditions, "sell or lease such of them as would not be usefully employed in the enlargement of the quays or transit sheds." This would give the port authority the necessary elasticity in the mode of dealing with the warehouses.

The Commissioners recommend that the Port of London, Limits of the Port. for all purposes of the new authority, should be defined as extending from Teddington Lock, as being the present tidal limit, to a line drawn from Havengore Creek, in Essex, to Warden Point, in the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent. This line is about two nautical miles further east than the present frontier of the Thames Conservancy for dredging purposes, and corresponds with the present actual eastward limit of the Customs port, and with that of the Thames Conservancy, for collecting port dues. The southward limit of the port should be the southern line specified in the second schedule of the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894, so far as it applies to the area west of the line from Havengore Creek to Warden Point, thus excluding the Medway.

The Commissioners think power might be given to the Board of Trade to extend by Provisional Order from time to time, for the special purpose of dredging, buoying, or lighting, the powers of the port authority as far as the line between Harwich Naze and the North Foreland, defined in the second schedule to the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894, and referred to in the second section of that Act.

On the 6th of April last, the Port of London Bill was introduced "To establish a Commission for the administration of the Port of London, and for transferring to the Commission the undertakings of certain dock companies and certain powers and duties of the Conservators of the River Thames and the Watermen's Company, and for other purposes connected therewith."

Mr. Gerald Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, in moving for leave to introduce the Bill, explained that it was an outcome of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, but in some unimportant particulars it did not follow those recommendations. It was not proposed to include the powers

and duties of the Trinity House among the functions to be transferred to the new authority. The advice of the Commissioners as to the purchase of the docks had been taken; but the Government did not see their way to place the new authority under the obligation of disposing as soon as possible of the dock companies' warehouses. The authority would be at liberty either to dispose of the warehouses or to retain them. The financial proposals in the Bill differed in two respects from the recommendations of the Commissioners. The Commissioners suggested that a municipal guarantee should be given jointly by the London County Council and the City Corporation; but it had been decided that it should be given by the London County Council alone. Then the Bill provided that the debentures of the dock companies should be compulsorily redeemable. With regard to the constitution of the port authority, the scheme in the Bill varied very materially from the Commissioners' scheme. The plan of the Government was that the authority should consist of forty members, twenty-six of whom were to be elected and fourteen nominated members. The London County Council was to appoint eight members, the City two, the Admiralty one, the Board of Trade one, the Trinity House one, and the Railway Association one. Ten were to be elected by the payers of dues of ships, ten by the commercial community, four by the wharfingers, and two by the owners of river craft. To protect the interests of the ratepayers it was provided that, if at any time the revenues of the Board should be insufficient to meet the liabilities and the interest on the port stock, the London County Council should have the right to apply to the Board of Trade to readjust the dues upon goods and ships, so that the deficiency might be made up.

On the second reading of the Bill, Sir F. Dixon Hartland moved to postpone the second reading six months. Mr. D.

Morgan seconded the amendment. Mr. Buxton, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Vicary Gibbs, Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Bryce expressed general approval of the proposals in the Bill.

Mr. Gerald Balfour stated that if the warehouses and wharves were bought, it would involve a loss by the new authority of £400,000 or £500,000 a year; moreover, they could not be purchased for less than £13,000,000. The Board of Trade would be prepared to consider any proposals which the wharfingers would bring forward in Committee. He showed that there was no probability of any call being made on the rates, and pointed out that the present income from the port left a large margin of safety.

After further debate, in which Sir J. Dimsdale urged that a larger share of representation should be given to the London County Council, the amendment was withdrawn, and the Bill was read a second time and referred to a Joint Committee.

In the middle of July last, the Bill was reported with amendments, and on August 12th, on the motion of the Prime Minister, further proceedings were suspended until the next session of Parliament.

CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST LEGISLATION AFFECTING LONDON.

At all London elections, Parliamentary, County Council, and Borough Council, it is the invariable practice of the members of the Radical-Progressive party to accuse the Conservative and Unionist party of a disregard and neglect of social reform. They assert that this disregard and neglect is, more especially, reserved for London. The accusation must, in view of the actual facts, be written down as a barefaced neglect of the truth; for, as it is a notorious boast of the Radical-Progressive party that none are so familiar as they with the Acts which, collectively, control the local government of London, make for social reform in London, and for a better, purer, and more beautiful London, they must be supposed to be acquainted with the real facts.

Doubtless the Radical conscience consoles itself with the thought that, hitherto, the end has justified the means, the end, of course, being obtained when they have, by misrepresentation and misstatement succeeded in inducing many electors to refrain from voting for Conservative and Unionist Candidates and others to vote for the Radical-Progressive Candidates.

It is sufficient for our case to go back to the year of the first Unionist administration (1887), for, even since that late date, a vast number of Acts have been added to the Statute Book by the Unionist party, as the summary which is given below shows.

Particular attention should, however, be directed to some of the more important Acts, as, for instance—

The Local Government Act, 1888,

The London Government Act, 1899,

under which the whole system of London local government was reformed and the London County Council and the Metropolitan Borough Councils were established.

The Public Health Acts, 1891 and 1896,

The Infectious Diseases Notification Acts, 1889 and 1890,

under which numerous sanitary improvements have been carried out, and many safeguards for securing the good health of the inhabitants of this immense Metropolis were provided.

The Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899,

The Weights and Measures Act, 1889,

under which pure food and drink and the proper weight and measure thereof were secured to the inhabitants of the Metropolis. These Acts, in particular, are the proud boast of the Radical-Progressive County Councillor, who always refrains from stating the fact that the Unionists passed them into law.

The Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890 to 1903,

under which local authorities are given, as Lord Rosebery says, "large powers" to take steps to add to the comfort of London's working population, powers which he candidly acknowledges they "do not exercise."

The Education Acts, 1891 and 1903,

The Technical Instruction Acts, 1889 and 1891,

The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890,

under which *free education* was secured to the working population, technical education was provided for, and the co-ordination of primary, secondary, and higher education is to be attained.

The Protection of Children Acts, 1889, 1897 and 1903,

under which children are protected and safeguarded from overwork and other dangers.

The Factory and Workshops Acts, 1891 and 1901,

The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897,

The Shop Hours Act, 1892,

under which the working population are secured better hours and conditions in the workshops, compensation for injuries, and other benefits.

The Canals Protection Act, 1898,

The Locomotives Act, 1898,

The Motor Act, 1903,

under which the public safety and comfort is considered and provided for.

The Water Acts, 1887, 1897, 1899 and 1902,

under which the water supply of the Metropolis has been improved and is now being transferred to a new and representative authority.

The Licensing Act, 1902,

under which the law relating to licensing, to drunkenness, and to the control of clubs, has been made more stringent.

The Public Buildings Acts, 1887 to 1903,

under which large sums of money have been provided for the erection of Government offices and buildings in London, the expenditure of which conduces to the welfare of the working-man.

There are many other measures, small and great, having for their object the amelioration of the condition of the people, and particularly the working people, which have been passed both before and since 1887 by the Conservatives and Unionists, as the following list, which is, from lack of space, incomplete, and a perusal of the public general statutes, will show. Because they are not specifically designated London measures, it must not be supposed that London does not benefit from their provisions equally with other parts of the Kingdom.

1887.

The London Parks and Works Act, 1887.—Under this Act, the Metropolitan Board of Works (and their successors, the London County Council) were given the control of the following parks and works:—Victoria Park, Battersea Park, Kennington Park, Bethnal Green Museum Garden, and Chelsea Embankment.

The Margarine Act, 1887.—This Act provides against the sale as butter of substances made in imitation of butter.

The Water Companies Act, 1887.—This Act precludes the London Water Companies from depriving occupiers of their water supply when, the owner being liable, he neglects to pay the water rate.

The Police Disabilities Removal Act, 1887.—This Act enables policemen to exercise the franchise at Parliamentary elections.

The Metropolitan Police Act, 1887.—This Act provides for the sum of £300,000 for the erection and furnishing of police buildings in the Metropolitan area.

The Allotments Act, 1887.—This Act gave power to local authorities to secure land for allotments for the labouring population.

1888.

The Local Government Act, 1888.—Under this Act, which completely reformed our system of local government, and created county councils throughout England and Wales, the London County Council was established.

1889.

The Technical Instruction Act, 1889.—Under this Act, the London County Council was empowered *to supply*, or aid the supply of, technical or manual instruction; the rate to be raised in any one year for the purpose of the Act not to exceed 1d. in the £. In the case of London, this would amount to £166,989 in 1903.

The Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act, 1889.—This Act gives power to the London County Council to extend or restrict the hours during which children may not be employed in singing, playing, or performing for profit, or offering anything for sale.

The National Portrait Gallery Act, 1889.—Under this Act, a piece of Crown land, adjoining the National Gallery, was appropriated for the purpose of erecting the National Portrait Gallery thereon.

The London Coal Duties Abolition Act, 1889.—Under this Act, the duties on coals leviable by the Corporation of London were all abolished.

The Infectious Diseases Notification Act, 1889.—Under this Act, prompt notification of any case of smallpox, cholera,

diphtheria, typhoid and other fevers and diseases was made compulsory in London, thus enabling the sanitary authorities to take measures for preventing the spread of infection.

The Weights and Measures Act, 1889.—This Act ensures that every weight, &c., is stamped by the local authority, and that the latter shall enforce the use of correct weights. The Act has been of exceptional value in protecting the poor against fraud, particularly in the matter of coal, and many prosecutions have taken place under its provisions.

1890.

The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890.—This Act consolidated the previous Acts (mainly passed by Conservatives) into one comprehensive Act; it explained the duties of local authorities and considerably strengthened their power to enforce sanitary laws. It provided, *inter alia*, that if a house is condemned as unfit for habitation, and is acquired under a re-building scheme, the owner's compensation is to be limited to the value of the land and the building materials; it also provides that weekly tenants displaced by improvement schemes are to be granted allowances for expenses of removal.

The Working Classes Dwellings Act, 1890.—This Act is to facilitate gifts of land for dwellings for the working classes in populous places, such as the administrative county of London, municipal boroughs and large urban districts.

The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890.—Under this Act, large sums have been supplied every year to the London County Council for the relief of local taxation.

The total for the thirteen years ending March, 1903, amounted to £2,444,000, the whole of which might have been devoted to the cause of technical education. The Council, however, allotted only £1,351,000 to that purpose, applying the balance (£1,092,922) to the relief of the rates.

The Education Code Act, 1890.—This Act increased the efficiency of evening schools by providing that they should share in the Parliamentary grant, without necessarily making elementary education part of their course.

The Open Spaces Act, 1890.—This Act enables the trustees of land, held for the purposes of public recreation, to transfer the same to the local authority of the district.

The Infectious Disease (Prevention) Act, 1890.—This Act extended the powers of the local authorities in London with regard to their procedure in the prevention of the spread of infectious disease.

The Metropolis Management Act Amendment Act, 1890.—This Act enables the vestries and district boards in London to flag and repair footpaths, and to recover the expense from the owners.

1891.

The Technical Instruction Act, 1891.—This Act enlarged the powers of local authorities, by enabling them to make provision in aid of technical instruction and to provide or assist in providing scholarships in schools or institutions outside their districts, where similar provision cannot be so advantageously made within their districts.

The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act, 1891.—This Act assists the managers of reformatory and industrial schools

in advantageously launching into useful careers the children under their charge.

The Elementary Education Act, 1891.—Under this Act, provision was made for that inestimable boon to the working population of the country, *free education*.

The Supreme Court of Judicature (London Causes) Act, 1891.—This Act enables judges of the High Court to hold Courts in the City of London for *nisi prius* cases.

The Factory and Workshop Act, 1891.—In addition to the provisions for better sanitation, safer conditions for working, prevention of fraud, &c., Section 7 of this Act enacts that every factory built in London after January 1, 1892, in which more than 40 persons are employed, shall have a certificate from the London County Council that the factory is provided with reasonable means of escape in case of fire. The Council is also empowered to require owners of factories built before the above date to provide the necessary means of escape within a certain time.

The Public Health (London) Act, 1891.—This most important Act consolidated the Statutes, over 30 in number, which contained the law of Public Health in London, and amended the law so as to give greater power to the authorities to put down nuisances and prevent dangers to the public health, to restrict offensive trades, to prevent the overcrowding of dwelling houses or factories, &c., &c., as well as to provide means for compelling any defaulting authorities to do their duty.

1892.

The Weights and Measures (Purchase) Act, 1892.—This Act enables the London County Council and other Councils

to buy up and extinguish the interests of the owners of any franchise of weights and measures within their respective areas.

The Small Holdings Act, 1892.—This Act gives power to county councils to purchase or lease land, and to adapt it and sell or let portions of it for small holdings.

The Military Lands Act, 1892.—The London County Council and other Councils may, under this Act, purchase and hold land on behalf of Volunteer Corps for military purposes.

The Shop Hours Act, 1892.—Under this Act, which prescribes the maximum number of hours young persons may be employed in shops, County Councils are empowered to appoint inspectors to see that the Act is carried out within their respective areas.

1895.

The Public Offices (Acquisition of Site) Act, 1895.—This Act provided £450,000 for the purchase of additional land for Government offices in Whitehall, Westminster.

1896.

The Public Health Act, 1896.—This Act makes further provision with respect to epidemic, endemic, and infectious diseases, and repeals the Acts relating to quarantine.

The London Cab Act, 1896.—This Act imposes penalties for defrauding cabmen in London.

The Quarter Sessions (London) Act, 1896.—This Act provides for the grant of pensions to the chairman and deputy-

chairman of the court of Quarter Sessions for the County of London and for the appointment of deputies. (*Introduced by a Radical M.P.*)

The Baths and Washhouses Act, 1896.—Under this Act, it is provided that swimming baths in London when closed may be used for music and dancing, provided a licence is obtained from the County Council.

1897.

The Voluntary Schools Act, 1897.—Under this Act, much-needed financial aid was granted to the London Voluntary schools, and they were exempted from paying rates.

The Metropolitan Police Courts (Holidays) Act, 1897.—This Act enables the Metropolitan Police Courts to be closed on Bank holidays.

The Patent Office Extension Act, 1897.—This Act provides for the acquisition of land for the extension of the Patent Office in London.

The Metropolitan Police Court Act, 1897.—An Act for transferring the expenses of police courts to the Metropolitan Police Fund.

The Public Offices (Whitehall) Site Act, 1897.—This Act provided £500,000 for the acquisition of a site for Government offices at Whitehall, Westminster.

The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897.—This Act, which makes employers in many trades liable to their workmen for personal injuries caused by accident in their employment, applies to the employees of the London County Council in a "factory," an "engineering work," and on "any building exceeding 30 feet in height."

The Cleansing of Persons Act, 1897.—This Act permits local authorities to provide cleansing and disinfection for persons infested with vermin. (*Introduced by a Radical.*)

The Metropolitan Police (Borrowing Powers) Act, 1897.—To enable the Receiver for the Metropolitan Police District to borrow £250,000 for erecting or furnishing police buildings.

The Metropolis Water Act, 1897.—This Act provided that any water consumer, or any local authority, may seek redress by complaining to the Railway and Canal Commission when any of the Metropolitan water companies has failed to perform some statutory duty of the company.

The Infant Life Protection Act, 1897.—This Act provides that any person receiving for hire or reward more than one infant under the age of five years, and keeping them apart from their parents for a longer period than 48 hours, shall, within such period, give notice to the local authority (in London, outside the City, the County Council). Considerable powers are given to the local authority to enforce the provisions of the Act, and heavy penalties are imposed upon offenders.

1898.

The Public Buildings Expenses Act, 1898.—This Act provided the sum of £2,550,000 for the erection of Government offices and buildings in various parts of London.

The Canals Protection (London) Act, 1898.—This Act gives powers to the various local authorities in London to compel a canal company to erect and maintain fences, &c., at any dangerous or insufficiently protected places which may abut on a public highway and involve danger to human life.

The Locomotives Act, 1898.—This Act amends the law relating to the licensing and use of traction engines, steam road-rollers, and other locomotives in the public thoroughfares. Power is given to the County Council to make by-laws under the Act.

The University of London Act, 1898.—This Act established the London University as a teaching university.

1899.

The Metropolitan Water Act, 1899.—This Act required the Metropolitan water companies to construct such works as would enable them to supply each other with water in cases of emergency. The recurrence of the regrettable water famines in certain London districts was thereby prevented.

The London Government Act, 1899.—This Act completed the Unionist scheme of local government for London by providing that the whole of the county of London, with the exception of the City, should be divided into Metropolitan boroughs. Borough councils were established, in the place of the vestries and district boards, with considerably increased powers.

The Metropolis Management Act Amendment (By-laws) Act, 1899.—This Act extends the powers of the County Council with regard to the control of the construction or alteration of drains.

The Bodies Corporate (Joint Tenancy) Act, 1899.—This Act enables a body corporate to acquire and hold real or personal property in joint tenancy as if it were an individual.

The Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899.—This Act enables county councils and other authorities to advance money to enable the residents in small houses to acquire the ownership of them.

The Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899.—This Act amends and strengthens the Acts passed by Conservative Governments in 1875, 1879, and 1887, under which local authorities have been given their very extensive powers for the prevention of adulteration of the food and drink of the people.

1900.

The Police Reservists (Allowances) Act, 1900.—To enable the police authorities to grant out of police funds, allowances and gratuities in respect of police reservists who were called out on Army service by the Royal Proclamation of October 7th, 1899.

The Land Registry (New Buildings) Act, 1900.—This Act provides £265,000 for the acquisition of land and the erection of buildings for a new Land Registry Office and other public offices in London.

The Poor Removal Act, 1900.—This Act restricts the removal of Irish paupers from England to Ireland when they have resided continuously for five years in England, and enables Boards of Guardians to maintain the Irish paupers at the expense of the Irish unions.

The London County Council Electors Qualification Act, 1900.—This Act assimilates the county council and borough council franchise in London by enabling “parochial electors” to vote at the election of the County Council.

The Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1900.—This Act gives power to any county council to purchase or to become guardians of and to preserve ancient monuments.

The Military Lands Act, 1900.—By this Act county and borough councils holding land under the Act of 1897 may lease it to any Volunteer corps for military purposes.

The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1900.—This Act enables local authorities to establish or acquire working class dwellings outside their district, and also gives them further powers.

The Members of Local Authorities Relief Act, 1900.—This Act relieves members of county councils and other local authorities from disqualification by reason of absence on active service in the auxiliary or reserve forces.

1901.

The National Gallery (Purchase of adjacent Land) Act, 1901.—This act safeguards the national treasures against fire by providing for the acquisition of land and buildings adjoining the National Gallery.

The Public Libraries Act, 1901.—Under this Act, library authorities, including Metropolitan borough councils, are given further powers for regulating the use of libraries and their contents.

The Factory and Workshops Act, 1901.—This Act consolidates the whole of those Acts passed since 1878, and gives extended powers to the London County Council with reference to buildings within its jurisdiction.

The Education Act, 1901.—This Act empowered county or borough councils, or technical instruction committees to

make arrangements for the continuation of the work to which school funds had been declared to be inapplicable by the Cockerton judgment.

1902.

The Police Reservists Act, 1902.—This Act enables police constables who were army reservists to reckon in the computation of service for pension the period served with the forces during the recent war in South Africa.

The Labour Bureaux (London) Act, 1902.—This Act authorises the councils of the Metropolitan boroughs to establish and maintain labour bureaux.

The Midwives Act, 1902.—This Act secures the better training of midwives, regulates their practice, and makes county and borough councils the local supervising authorities over midwives in their areas.

The Licensing Act, 1902.—This Act amends the law relating to the granting of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, amends the laws relating to drunkenness, especially with regard to the habitual drunkard, and provides by the registration of clubs for the extinction of bogus drinking establishments.

The Metropolis Water Act, 1902.—This Act establishes a representative Water Board to manage the supply of water within London and certain adjoining districts, and transfers to the Water Board the undertakings of the Metropolitan water companies.

1903.

The Borough Funds Act, 1903.—This Act amends the Act of 1872 with relation to Bills in Parliament, giving borough and urban district councils a free hand in opposing Bills.

The Local Government (Transfer of Powers) Act, 1903.—This Act simplifies the procedure for the transfer to county councils of certain powers, duties, and liabilities of Government departments.

The Metropolitan Streets Act, 1903.—To regulate the conditions under which persons may collect money in any street in London for charitable or other purposes.

The Education (London) Act, 1903.—To make further provision with respect to education in London by the co-ordination and improvement of primary, secondary, and higher education by constituting the county council the authority within its area for all educational purposes and by giving to all classes of recognized elementary schools a right to equal and adequate assistance out of the rates.

The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1903.—This Act amends the law relating to the housing of the working classes by extending the period for repayment of loans to 80 years and by giving the Local Government Board greater powers with regard to the carrying out or modification of building schemes.

The Conservative and Unionist parties have carried nearly every important measure since 1850 relating to the housing question. It is not legislation that is wanted now, but action on the part of the county council. This is what Lord Rosebery said at a meeting in London in connection with the London borough elections, on October 26, 1900 :—

The question of housing is a capital question in London. You have large powers all ready to be exercised. You do not exercise them. . . . Why are these powers not exercised ? . . . The reason is this—because the bodies from which those inspectors derive their direction and their inspiration are either inert or neutral or apathetic in the matter. —*Times*, Oct. 27, 1900.

The Public Buildings Expenses Act, 1903.—This Act provides the sum of £1,790,000 for the purchase of land and the erection of buildings for Government offices, &c., in various parts of London.

The Railways (Electrical Power) Act, 1903.—Under this Act, the Board of Trade can sanction the use of electrical power on railways.

The Motor Car Act, 1903.—This Act provides for the registration with the county councils of all motor cars, and for the granting of licences to all drivers, the safety of the public being safeguarded by these and other provisions of the Act.

The Employment of Children Act, 1903.—This Act provides that a county council, borough council or other local authority may make by-laws prescribing the ages and hours of employment for all children with respect to all or any occupations, and may regulate street trading.

The Military Lands Act, 1903.—This Act enables county or borough councils to hire land for Volunteer corps for military purposes for not less than twenty-one years, and to lease it to the Volunteer corps.

This is a record of social legislation that is exceedingly creditable to the Unionist party, and it will be beyond the power of any Radical-Progressive to furnish a list of Radical measures of social reform of corresponding importance.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

In March, 1902, a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was appointed. Their report, dated August 10th, 1903, stated (with regard to London) that there had been a substantial increase in alien crime, and that the evil of overcrowding had been largely aggravated by the influx of aliens into East London within the last few years. As to the industrial and economical effect of alien immigration, the Commissioners say (pars. 134, 135, 136):—

Leaving the skilled labour market out of the question, we think it proved that the industrial conditions under which a large number of aliens work in London fall below the standard which ought, alike in the interests of the workmen and the community at large, to be maintained.

The effects of the alien immigration are not confined to the occupations mentioned above. The demand for labour in them is not unlimited, especially since the shoemaking and tailoring trades are seasonal and fluctuate widely between periods of slackness and activity. There is, consequently, a tendency for the immigrants to overflow into other employments; for instance, evidence as to the large increase of foreign costermongers and other street traders has been placed before us. This has caused ill-feeling and friction between them and the large body of Englishmen employed in the same trades.

Complaint was also made by several witnesses with regard to the ill-effects which immigration has had upon the native shopkeepers. Their interests have suffered in two ways, for while there is a natural tendency, and even, with regard to certain articles of food, a religious obligation, among a large class of the immigrants to deal only with persons of their own race, the great displacement of population caused by immigration has operated simultaneously to disperse the former customers of the English retailers. We consider that these complaints are not without foundation.

At pages 40—43 of the report, the Commissioners state their results and recommendations:—

RESULTS.

262. From the facts placed before us, many of which are above summarised, it seems to be established that a large number of alien immigrants have during the last twenty years entered the country. This number is much in excess of those who had in previous years reached us. The excess is mainly composed of Russians and Poles, who belong for the most part to the Jewish faith. There seems to be no reason to anticipate that under present conditions the number of alien immigrants arriving here in future years will be diminished.

263. We have above stated the opinions we entertain of the condition, character, and conduct of these alien immigrants, and also of the effect their presence has upon the native community and national interests.

264. We do not think that any case has been established for the total exclusion of such aliens, and it would certainly be undesirable to throw any unnecessary difficulties in the way of the entrance of foreigners generally into this country. But we are of opinion that in respect of certain classes of immigrants, especially those arriving from Eastern Europe, it is necessary, in the interests of the State generally and of certain localities in particular, that the entrance of such immigrants into this country and their right of residence here should be placed under conditions and regulations coming within that right of interference which every country possesses to control the entrance of foreigners into it.

265. Such regulations should, in our opinion, be made in order to prevent, so far as possible, this country being burdened with the presence of "undesirable aliens," and to provide for their repatriation in certain cases.

266. But we think that the greatest evils produced by the presence of the alien immigrants here are the overcrowding caused by them in certain districts of London, and the consequent displacement of the native population. There seems little likelihood of being able to remedy these great evils by the enforcement of any law applicable to the native and alien population alike. We therefore think that special regulations should be made for the purpose of preventing aliens at their own will choosing their residence within districts already so overcrowded, that any addition to dwellers within it must produce most injurious results.

267. We are also of opinion that efforts should be made to rid this country of the presence of alien criminals (and other objectionable characters).

268. We think it must be the duty of those who may have to frame legislation in connection with this subject to remember that they ought not to be content with reviewing its present condition, but also to anticipate, so far as possible, that which is likely to occur in the future. The causes that have so largely tended to produce the conditions above referred to will probably continue, and if this be so the evil will, unless checked by legislative or administrative measures, year by year increase and intensify.

269. For the purpose of carrying the above views into effect we make the following recommendations :—

RECOMMENDATIONS.

(1) That the immigration of certain classes of aliens into this country be subjected to State control and regulation to the extent hereinafter mentioned.

(2) That a Department of Immigration be established, either in connection with the Board of Trade and Local Government Board, or of an independent character.

(3) That improved methods be employed to secure correct statistical returns relating to alien immigration. That for this purpose the Act of 6 William IV., c. 11, be repealed, and power given by statute to the Board of Trade to make provision by regulations for obtaining from shipowners returns of the numbers and nationalities of all aliens entering or departing from the United Kingdom, and such further information as may be thought desirable. These regulations to apply to all or any specified ports, and to be subject to such conditions or modifications as may appear expedient.

(4) That legislative power be obtained for the purpose of carrying out the following suggestions :—

(A) The Immigration Department to have the power of making and enforcing orders and regulations, which may be made applicable to immigration generally, or to vessels arriving at or from certain ports, or to certain classes of immigrants.

(B) That a sufficient staff of officers be appointed by the Immigration Department to carry into effect the provisions of this Act, and the orders and regulations made under it.

(C) Power should be conferred upon such officers to make such enquiry as may be possible from the immigrants upon their arrival as to their character and condition, and if such officer shall have reason to think that any immigrant comes within any of the classes mentioned as “undesirables,” viz., criminals, prostitutes, idiots, lunatics, persons of notoriously bad character, or likely to become a charge upon public funds, he shall report the case, with such particulars as he can give, to the Immigration Department.

(D) It shall be the duty of the Immigration Department to act upon any information it may obtain or receive in order to carry out any provisions which may be made in respect of the above suggestion. And provision should be made for the immediate determination of any proceedings taken before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction on the arrival of the immigrant, pending which the immigrant may be placed under suitable charge.

- (E) Any alien immigrant, who, within two years of his arrival, is ascertained or is reasonably supposed to be :—a criminal, a prostitute, a person living on the proceeds of prostitution, of notoriously bad character, or shall become a charge upon public funds, except from ill-health, or shall have no visible or probable means of support,

May be ordered by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction to leave this country, and the owner of the vessel on which such immigrant was brought to this country may be ordered to re-convey him to the port of embarkation.

- (F) In reference to all orders of repatriation, due regard must necessarily be had to international arrangements.
- (G) Such orders and regulations to include provisions for medical examination of alien immigrants at port of arrival. In cases where an immigrant is found to be suffering from infectious or loathsome disease, or mental incapacity, the medical officer to have power to debar such immigrant from landing, and the shipowner to be compelled to re-convey the immigrant to port of embarkation.
- (H) Immigrants on arrival to give the information demanded from them, refusal, or the giving of false information, to be an offence under the Act, with penalty and discretionary power of repatriation at expense of shipping company.

{5} OVERCROWDING.

- (A) That every effort should be made to enforce with greater efficiency the existing law dealing with overcrowding, and that increased power should be obtained for certain purposes, especially with the object of bringing all dwellings within specified areas under the operation of the bye-laws made under the powers of the Public Health Act.
- (B) That inquiry should be made by the Immigration Department, either upon the representation of the local authority or otherwise, as to the existence of overcrowding in any area.
- (C) If it be found that the immigration of aliens into any area has substantially contributed to any overcrowding, and that it is expedient that no further newly-arrived aliens should become residents in such area, the same may be declared to be a prohibited area.
- (D) Full notice that any area has become prohibited should be given at such ports of embarkation as may be thought necessary, and should be communicated to the immigrants by every possible means.
- (E) That on their arrival in this country enquiry should be made from the immigrants as to their intended destination. If any one should allege his intention of becoming resident in a prohibited area, he shall

be expressly informed of the regulation affecting prohibition. All immigrants to be furnished with a list, in their own language, of prohibited areas.

- (f) All alien immigrants (not trans-migrants) coming from and arriving at certain ports to be registered. On registration, a place of residence or intended residence to be given by the alien. If none can be given, the alien to furnish such residence as soon as obtained. Any change of residence during the first two years of residence in this country to be notified.
- (g) If within two years after an area is declared to be prohibited, any alien who has arrived in this country after such declaration shall be found resident within such area, he shall be removed therefrom, and shall be guilty of an offence.

(6) Upon conviction of any felony or misdemeanour upon indictment the Judge may direct as part of the sentence that the alien convicted shall leave the country. If such direction be disobeyed, the alien may, on summary conviction, be punished as a rogue and vagabond. This power may be extended to convictions for certain offences triable by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction; such offences to be specified by statute.

(7) That further statutory powers should be obtained for regulating the accommodation upon and condition of foreign immigrant passenger ships.

To the recommendations we have ventured to make in respect of restriction, it may be objected that they are not likely to prove effective in preventing the landing of undesirables at the ports of this country. In answer to this objection we desire to point out that, in making these recommendations, we have been guided by the opinion we entertain that the suggestions we have made, if carried out, will have the effect of deterring aliens of the undesirable class from leaving their homes, and also of inducing the shipping companies to exercise greater care in selecting their passengers.

It seems not improbable that the publication of this report, and the prospect of restrictive legislation, may cause those who intend to emigrate to anticipate the proposed restrictions, and thus lead to an immediate and immoderate increase of immigration, and a consequent accentuation of the existing evils in the East End of London and elsewhere. We are impressed with the necessity of avoiding, so far as possible, such a result of our labours; and we would venture to submit the immediate adoption of such of our recommendations as can be introduced without recourse to Parliament. At the same time we clearly recognise that the complete enforcement of the system we propose is only possible by legislation.

Dated this 10th day of August, 1903.

(Signed) JAMES OF HEREFORD, ROTHSCHILD, ALFRED LYTTELTON,
KENELM E. DIGBY, W. EVANS-GORDON, HENRY NORMAN,
W. VALLANCE.

THE GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION.

The Home Secretary (the Right Hon. A. Akers-Douglas, M.P.), speaking at Shoreditch, on Monday, December 8th, 1903, said :—

There was another sort of dumping, and that was the dumping of the undesirable alien. It was a growing evil. A Royal Commission had been sitting, and its members had given great care and attention to the subject, and he would like to say, that none among them had rendered greater service than Major Evans-Gordon—who had gone all over the world to find out the truth of the matter. At the last census the total population of this country was 41,500,000, and of this total the aliens numbered 286,900, or an increase in twenty years of over 150,000. Of these 286,900 aliens, 135,300 resided in London, and 54,300 were living in that neighbourhood. In Stepney they had increased since 1881 by nearly 16,000. There were 4,600 in Bethnal Green, an increase from 925. The result of this dumping of the foreign alien here was the overcrowding of an already over-populous district and the displacement thereby of the native population. There had been a general increase over the period of the last twenty years in the number of aliens, and if things were allowed to go on as at present—and there was no tendency to decrease, but on the contrary to increase—he feared that these numbers would in future years still further increase. He certainly thought that the entrance of undesirable aliens into this country, and their right to reside in any particular district, should be placed under the most stringent regulation. But there were aliens and aliens. Many of them were hard-working, sober, and desirable, so far as social order went, and were also desirable citizens. He had nothing whatever to say against them, except that he regretted that they might take work and bread away from a certain number of Englishmen; but it was only fair to say that they were extremely loyal and law-abiding citizens. On the other hand, they had undesirable aliens among them, and a very large proportion of the crime of this country and of the districts in London was committed by them. The criminal statistics showed that in 1901 the native-born population in England and Wales was 32,000,000. Of these, 166,000, or 0.52 per cent., were sentenced to imprisonment; whereas of the alien population, 2,880, or 1.16 per cent., were sentenced to imprisonment. In 1902, the number of alien prisoners rose to 3,446. As these figures were not confined to first convictions, but extended very largely to habitual criminals, he thought the time had come when some stringent measures should be taken in order to deal with this question. There were constant complaints from judges, the Recorder of the City of London, and the Metropolitan police magistrates, of the amount of work thrown upon the Courts, and of the expense imposed upon the country by the maintenance of these criminal aliens, who ought, in his opinion, to be deported from this country. In the opinion of the Government a strong case had been made out before the Royal Commission, and the matter was receiving the very gravest attention from the Government. It was, of course, impossible for him to anticipate any announcement on the subject which might be contained in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament; but he was able to give the meeting the assurance that the question was receiving the very careful consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, and they had every desire to find a speedy remedy.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

A Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading was appointed by Parliament in May, 1900, but the inquiry was interrupted by the rising of Parliament, and no report on the subject was made.

Another Select Committee was appointed in May, 1903, but, owing to the short time at their disposal, the Committee confined their inquiry to the system of municipal account keeping.

Their report, dated July 22nd, 1903, stated :—

The Committee recommend that a uniform system of audit should be applied to all the major local authorities, viz., the councils of counties, cities, towns, burghs, and of urban districts, and their recommendations are accordingly as follows :—

- (A) The existing system of audit applicable to corporations, county councils and urban district councils in England and Wales be abolished.
- (B) Auditors, being members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, or of the Incorporated Society of Accountants and Auditors, should be appointed by the three classes of local authorities just mentioned.
- (C) In every case the appointment should be subject to the approval of the Local Government Board, after hearing any objections made by ratepayers, and the auditor, who should hold office for a term not exceeding five years, should be eligible for re-appointment, and should not be dismissed by the local authority without the sanction of the Board.
- (D) In the event of any disagreement between the local authority and the auditor as to his remuneration, the Local Government Board should have power to determine the matter.
- (E) The Scots practice of appointing auditors from a distance, in preference to local men, to audit the accounts of small burghs should in similar cases be adopted in England.

The Committee are of opinion that it should be made clear by statute or regulation that the duties of those entrusted with the audit of local accounts are

not confined to mere certification of figures. They therefore further recommend that—

- (A) The auditor should have the right of access to all such papers, books, accounts, vouchers, sanctions for loans, and so forth, as are necessary for his examination and certificate.
- (B) He should be entitled to require from officers of the authority such information and explanation as may be necessary for the performance of his duties.
- (C) He should certify :—
 - (i.) That he has found the accounts in order, or otherwise, as the case may be ;
 - (ii.) That separate accounts of all trading undertakings have been kept, and that every charge which each ought to bear has been duly debited ;
 - (iii.) That in his opinion the accounts issued present a true and correct view of the transactions and results of trading (if any) for the period under investigation.
 - (iv.) That due provision has been made out of revenue for the repayment of loans, that all items of receipts and expenditure and all known liabilities have been brought into account, and that the value of all assets has in all cases been fairly stated.

Auditors should be required to express an opinion upon the necessity of reserve funds, of amounts set aside to meet depreciation and obsolescence of plant, in addition to the statutory sinking funds, and of the adequacy of such amounts.

The auditor should also be required to present a report to the local authority. Such report should include observations upon any matters as to which he has not been satisfied, or which in his judgment called for special notice, particularly with regard to the value of any assets taken into account.

The local authority should forward to the Local Government Board both the detailed accounts and the report of the auditor made upon them. It should be the duty of the auditor to report independently to the Board any case in which an authority declines to carry out any recommendation made by him.

A printed copy of the accounts, with the certificate and report of the auditor thereon, should be supplied by the local authority to any ratepayer at a reasonable charge.

(Report on Municipal Trading, No. 270, 1903.)

If these recommendations become law, the proper and adequate audit of the accounts of local authorities would be secured, and the ratepayers would then be able to ascertain the real results of the various trading undertakings carried on by the local authorities.

The Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., M.P., in a speech he delivered at Cheltenham, on 5th December, 1903, said :—

There is in some quarters a strong feeling against what is called "municipal trading." I do not think that anything you have done here can be properly described as going beyond the true functions of the municipality. But, even if it were possible, I should say that, if a municipality takes care that its constituents, the ratepayers, have as full an opportunity of knowing what it is doing as the shareholders in a well-managed public company, there need not be much fear as to the proper administration of its affairs. It seems to me vital that in all these matters the ratepayers should have periodically placed before them the fullest and clearest account of the assets of their several undertakings, of the profit or the loss that may be incurred by any of them, of the necessary provision for the depreciation of plant, and last, but by no means least, of the provision made for repaying loans—not out of fresh loans—but out of rates. And to secure this there must be a proper audit of municipal accounts of all kinds, conducted by qualified and independent auditors, who will show, to the understanding of the most unskilled persons, precisely on what the rates are being spent and what advantages they have secured.

The question of municipal trading is fully dealt with by Major Leonard Darwin, in his recently published work "Municipal Trade," published by John Murray. A summary of his conclusions is impossible in this short article, but particular attention may be directed to his chapter on municipal house building. For further information on the question, see the following :—

Municipal Trading Select Committee, 1900 ; evidence.

Municipal Trading Select Committee, 1903 ; evidence and report.

Times articles on "Municipal Socialism," 1902.

Municipal Trading, Report of Conference convened by London Municipal Society, May 28th, 1902.

Municipal Trading *alias* Socialism, by J. Ratcliffe Cousins, L.C.C.

VAUXHALL BRIDGE—DELAY IN REBUILDING.

The long delay in the rebuilding of Vauxhall Bridge is a strong example of inefficient Progressive administration.

As long ago as 1892, Mr. John Hutton, the Chairman of the Council, in his annual review of the Council's work, stated—

The dangerous condition of Vauxhall Bridge is a matter which is forcing itself upon the immediate attention of the Council.

The yearly report of the Bridges Committee also stated that—

The question of rebuilding the Bridge will have to be considered by the Council.

Despite the urgency of the matter—

The Council did not consider it expedient to include the rebuilding of Vauxhall Bridge in its Improvements Bill for 1894. In that year the Bridges Committee stated that the cost of a new bridge would be about £454,000 ; that the foundations of the Bridge were weak, but that a sudden collapse of the Bridge need not be apprehended, as it is anticipated that warning of impending failure would be given. At the same time, the rebuilding of the Bridge should not be much longer postponed.—(*Annual Report*, 1895.)

In 1895, the Vauxhall Bridge Bill was introduced into Parliament by the Council, and passed. It was then estimated that the cost would be about £380,000, including £30,000 for a temporary bridge, and £74,000 for the purchase of property required for forming the approaches.

During 1897, the erection of a temporary bridge was proceeded with. The erection of piers and dolphins was entrusted to the Works Department. On the 21st January, 1898, the half-yearly report of the Department (*Minutes*, 25th January, 1898,) showed that the final estimate of £11,265 had been exceeded by £2,266.

On the 18th August, 1898, the temporary bridge was opened to the public. Meanwhile, the design for the new bridge had engaged the continued attention of the Bridges Committee. On February 22nd, 1898, the design submitted for the bridge was adopted by the Council, and the engineer was instructed to prepare the necessary contract, plans, sections and specifications.

On the 26th July, 1898, the Bridges Committee reported that they had considered tenders received for the building of that portion of the new Vauxhall Bridge up to the springing level of the arches, and recommended that the tender of Messrs. Pethick Bros., amounting to £165,435, be accepted.

On the 13th December, 1898, the Works Department half-yearly return stated that the construction approaches to the Vauxhall temporary bridge, estimated to cost £3,940, had been exceeded by £263.

On the 30th July, 1901, the Parliamentary Committee reported that it might be necessary to apply to Parliament next session for extensions of time for the execution of work in connection with the Vauxhall Bridge Act, 1895.

On the 1st July, 1902, a report of the Bridges Committee on the delay in executing the work was presented to the Council. It stated that the order to commence work was given by the engineer to Messrs. Pethick Bros. in September, 1898, and the work should have been completed in March, 1901. The Committee were, however, unable to hold out any hope of the Council entering into a contract for the construction of the superstructure until the early part of 1903. "The unfortunate delay" was attributed to natural and other

difficulties ; the stringent restrictions of the Thames Conservancy ; the erection of coffer dams not originally contemplated ; the difficulty experienced in obtaining possession of part of the foreshore ; and the great depth of the old Westminster abutment. Claims for extra work had been made by the contractors, and this was recommended to be settled by the contractors agreeing to take £10,933, and to complete their contract not later than 31st December, 1902. This recommendation, after being withdrawn, was ultimately adopted.

On the 29th October, 1902, a report of the Bridges Committee stated that—

The question of the rebuilding of Vauxhall Bridge **had been before the Council for the last twelve years**, although it was not until 1895 that Parliamentary powers were obtained to undertake the reconstruction. After the passing of the Vauxhall Bridge Act some three years elapsed before the contract for the demolition of the old structure and partial construction of the new piers and abutments was let to Messrs. Pethick. The Council will remember that the proposal in 1897 was to construct a five-arched steel bridge, with granite-faced piers and abutments, but that when the sketch was submitted it was rejected upon the grounds that it did not possess those features which it was thought a crossing of such importance should exhibit. Some eighteen months later, as the result of much deliberation, a design was submitted and adopted by the Council showing the granite bridge backed with concrete, which not only had an appearance of stability and massiveness, but which, it was believed, gave general satisfaction. Having regard, therefore, to the time and talent which have been spent upon the design and proposed construction of the bridge, in a manner which has been regarded as so satisfactory, and which would have embodied the principle upon which the Thames Embankments were constructed, we greatly regret to find that circumstances have arisen which will necessitate the Council having to revert to its original conception and build a steel bridge with stone piers. . . . In 1898, when a concrete bridge was substituted for the original form of construction, it was pointed out that the headway of the arches, owing to the centring required for the support of the concrete arch during construction, would have to be temporarily reduced, and a clause authorising the lowering was accordingly inserted in the General Powers Bill of that session, but was subsequently withdrawn, as it was represented to us that a method of construction had been discovered which would obviate the temporary headways at the centre of the arches being less than the prescribed 18 ft. and 15 ft.

Owing to deviation from the width of the openings specified in the Act, an action for damages done to the protective works at the Bridge, by the tug "Frank," was lost by the contractors. The Engineer then reported that he could not carry out the construction of a concrete arch. The Committee recommended:—

(A) That the resolution of the Council of 22nd February, 1898, directing that the new Vauxhall Bridge be a granite bridge, backed with concrete, be rescinded.

(B) That the estimate of £170,000, submitted by the Finance Committee, for the building of the superstructure of the new Vauxhall Bridge, be approved, and that an expenditure up to that amount be sanctioned; that the design submitted, showing a steel elliptical arch structure, be adopted, and that the engineer be instructed to prepare the necessary contract, plans and specification.

This was adopted.

The report of the Finance Committee stated that they had—

Inquired of the Bridges Committee whether they anticipated any further expenditure in respect of the new Vauxhall Bridge other than that provided for in the votes already passed, and the estimate of £170,000 now submitted, and they learn that a further sum of upwards of £10,000 will probably be required for property. This, however, is partly contingent upon the carrying through of a proposed arrangement for an exchange of property and the execution of certain works, and the negotiations are not yet completed. The Parliamentary estimate for the reconstruction of the Bridge amounted to £484,000, comprising £74,000 for property, £30,000 for the construction of a temporary bridge, and £380,000 for the erection of a new bridge. Up to the present time the Council has voted £341,092, which sum, with the present estimate of £170,000, will make £511,092, or £27,092 more than the total Parliamentary estimate, and, as stated above, a further sum of at least £10,000 will probably be required. The excess has arisen in connection with the purchase of property and the construction of the temporary bridge. The Council has already passed supplemental votes for property amounting to £46,000. On the temporary bridge there has been an excess of £8,745, but on the construction of the new bridge it appears that there may be a saving of £30,000.

On the 20th October, 1903, a report of the Bridges Committee set out the tenders for the erection of the superstructure (for information as to British *versus* Belgian steel, see "Foreign Contracts" article) and a tender by Mr. Charles

Wall, of Chelsea, amounting to £142,942, was accepted by the Council.

In the result, the Bridge will, if no further unforeseen delays occur, be completed in two or three years hence—fourteen years after the date when the necessity for rebuilding it was declared to be urgent. The sole responsibility for the delay and the blunders in connection with this work rests upon the Progressive Party in the Council.

It may be added that Lambeth Bridge was, in 1892, also stated to be in a bad condition, but its reconstruction has not yet been undertaken.

Conservatives and the Non-Contentious Work of the Council.

IT is a favourite device of Progressive speakers to expatiate upon the details of the ordinary administrative work of one of the wholly non-political departments of the Council; to dilate upon the importance of this work, and of the careful and conscientious way in which it is executed; and then to take all the credit of it to the Progressive party. In effect they say, look how well the County Council Parks are managed; see how our inspectors are checking the use of false weights and measures; observe how many prizes and certificates the Technical Education Board is distributing to your children; therefore vote for the Progressive candidates.

In reality there can be no more misleading chain of reasoning than this—there can be no conclusion less justified by the facts.

Let us examine the history of the parks and open spaces Parks and open spaces. now vested in the Council, and see how their management is actually carried on.

As regards the acquisition of new parks and open spaces, all parties and all individuals on the Council have been equally zealous. But of the whole area of some 4,879 acres, which are now in the hands of the Council, it must be remembered that no less than 2,964 acres had been acquired by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and were transferred from it to the County Council.

It must also be remembered that as regards the cost of the acquisition of new open spaces, the Council only makes a contribution to the total purchase price. In many instances, large sums have also been supplied by local bodies, and by individual benefactors.

Thus, in the case of Brockwell Park, the cost of the acquisition was in all about £120,000. Towards this the County Council contributed £61,000, the Charity Commissioners gave £25,000, the Lambeth Vestry £20,000, the Camberwell Vestry £6,000, the Newington Vestry £5,000, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners £500, and private donors the remainder.

In the case of the Postmen's Park, the cost of acquisition was about £12,000. To this the Postmaster-General gave £5,000, City Parochial Foundation £1,000, City Commissioners of Sewers £2,500, public subscriptions £1,800, Metropolitan Public Gardens Association £500, the City Corporation £500, and the County Council £500.

In the case of one of the latest and the most beautiful of the gardens that have been obtained for London's use, viz., Golder's Hill, the total cost of acquisition was about £41,000. Towards this the London County Council gave £12,000, while amongst other bodies the Hampstead Vestry gave £10,000, the Marylebone and St. Pancras Vestries £1,000 each, North St. Pancras £1,000, the City Parochial Charities £1,000, and some £14,000 was collected from private subscribers.

In the case of Eltham Park, 41½ acres, the Council voted £4,675; the Woolwich Borough Council contributing one-half of the purchase money and costs.

Fulham Park.—The Council contributed £12,000 towards the cost (estimated at £16,957 10s.) of embanking and laying

out $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, known as Fielder's Meadow, which had been presented by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the Council of the Metropolitan Borough of Fulham, for addition to Fulham Park. The London County Council had previously contributed £17,500 towards the cost of other portions of this park. The total cost of the park amounted to £52,202 10s. ; the Council's contribution is £29,500, but in agreeing to make this large contribution, the Council had in mind the fact that the Borough Council will bear in perpetuity the cost of maintaining the park.

It is true that the subsequent maintenance of nearly all these parks and gardens is borne by the Council, and that they are managed by it. They are managed by and through its Parks Committee. This Committee has always remained untainted by party spirit. Councillors of all shades of political opinion have harmoniously co-operated upon it. Its Chairmen have been chosen equally from either side ; and on the Council, as a whole, whenever any question has arisen as to the acquisition of a new open space, or as to the adornment or management of an existing one, Conservatives have ever displayed the most enlightened desire to make this department of the Council's work an unquestionable success.

With regard to the carrying out of the provisions of the Weights and Measures Acts, even an electioneering Progressive can hardly pretend that his party are entitled to any peculiar credit in this respect. Every Councillor is anxious to give effect to the beneficial provisions of the several Acts dealing with this subject, all of which were passed in Conservative Parliaments, at the instance of Conservative Ministers. Weights and measures.

With regard to the uncontroversial branches of the Council's work, the true view then is this : The many useful The true view.

powers of this kind that the Council exercises have, with hardly an exception, been the outcome of Conservative legislation. Conservatives wish to see the Council making use of these powers with zeal and vigilance. They ask their representatives on the Council to devote their time and energies to the efficient discharge of these—their proper duties, and not to waste them in futile attempts at impracticable legislation.

It is to Conservatives, therefore, that the electors can most confidently look for a careful and zealous execution of the administrative functions of the Council, and all electors who wish to see the existing laws well administered, and who are anxious that the Council, through them, should strive to make London a beautiful, convenient and healthy city, must vote for Conservative in preference to Radical candidates.

THE COUNCIL'S COMMITTEES.

The following short account of the work of the Standing and other Committees of the Council shows the variety and extent of its powers, and the importance of the duties in the efficient discharge of which the Conservatives have taken a prominent part:—

Asylums. The *Asylums Committee* is responsible for the care of nearly 17,000 lunatics and imbeciles. Eight asylums are at present occupied, and a ninth is in contemplation.

Thames bridges, tunnels and ferry. The *Bridges Committee* maintains and repairs eleven bridges over the Thames, Woolwich Free Ferry and Blackwall Tunnel. It is the authority to enforce the Prevention of Floods Act, and initiates and carries out schemes for new river crossings.—For special article on Vauxhall Bridge, see page 248.

The *Building Act Committee* discharges the duties under, ^{Building laws.} among other Acts, the London Building Act of 1894:—"This important measure, which concerns the County of London outside the city *exclusively*, consolidates and amends the law relating to streets and buildings in London. It contains provisions with respect to the formation and widening of streets; lines of building frontage; naming and numbering of houses; open spaces about buildings, and heights of buildings; construction of buildings; special and temporary buildings and wooden structures; dangerous and neglected structures; dwelling-houses on low-lying land; sky-signs, and other matters. The Act also provides for the appointment of a superintending architect of Metropolitan buildings and of district surveyors. It also provides for the constitution of a tribunal of appeal, to hear and determine appeals against the decisions of the Council and of the superintending architect in certain cases." Other duties are the naming and numbering of streets; examination of factories, with a view to requiring reasonable means of escape in case of fire; licensing of sky-signs.

The *Corporate Property Committee* has the management of all lands and buildings belonging to the Council. But the exceptions are so numerous and important that practically the work of the Committee is concerned with merely the odds and ends of the Council's property.

The chief work of the Committee has been in connection ^{Charities.} with advising the Council upon the schemes of the Charity Commissioners. It also has power to contribute to the expense of inquiries into charities for the benefit of the county.

The question of the abandonment of licensed houses, ^{Abandonment of licences.} acquired in connection with street improvements, also comes before this Committee.

The *Establishment Committee*.—The chief work of this Committee is the management of the staff, which, owing to the steadily growing work of the Council, is continually increasing. In January, 1889, the number of officials on yearly salary at the Central Office was 164; in March, 1903, it had risen to 546. There are also about 322 temporary and other assistants at weekly salaries, 37 lady typists, 58 messengers, caretakers, office cleaners, &c., 40 chainmen and 60 charwomen. The provision of a new County Hall has occupied the attention of the Committee for a number of years, and a special Sites Committee is now inquiring as to the best position for such an edifice. At present the staff is most inadequately housed.

The *Finance Committee* (see article—L.C.C. Finance and Lord Welby's Speech).—The Committee supervises the accounts, advises on all borrowings by local bodies for which the Council's sanction is required, reports upon the financial aspects of all new projects, and has charge of the Council's debt, the Consolidated Loan Fund, &c.

The *Fire Brigade Committee* controls, maintains and manages the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, established in 1865. The staff consists of 1,259 officers and men; 70 land fire engine stations and 59 smaller stations; 75 steam fire engines on land and water and 19 manual engines; 43½ miles of hose and 204 fire escapes. There are 294 horses, 841 fire alarms, and over 27,000 hydrants. The brigade attended 3,574 fires last year; there were also 857 false alarms, and another 296 calls proved to be for chimneys on fire.

The *General Purposes Committee* consists of one elected representative from each Standing Committee, usually the chairman, with the addition of ten members directly elected

by the Council. Its work is mainly of an advisory nature. It reports upon the methods of the administrative work of the Council; makes suggestions as to the Standing Orders and the work of the various Committees; and reports to the Council on questions affecting the appointment, pay, duties, &c., of the chief officials. New duties delegated to the Council by Act of Parliament, or by order of any Government department, are considered and reported upon by this Committee.

The Committee also considers and reports as to what course the Council should adopt with reference to the proposed destruction of any buildings of historic or architectural interest. In this connection the debates upon the proposal to preserve Rutty's house, at Bromley, and No. 17, Fleet Street, will be remembered.

The Highways Committee.—The powers of this Committee relate to electric lighting, gates and bars, highways and streets, locomotives, main roads, monuments, overhead wires, subways, tramways and railways.—The question of tramways is dealt with under the head of "Locomotion," page 104.

The Housing of the Working Classes Committee.—See special article on page 87.

The Improvements Committee are charged with the consideration of all questions relating to Street Improvements in the County of London, and the carrying out of all street improvements authorized by Parliament. The estimated net cost of all the county improvements now being carried out by the Council is £5,186,806. The gross capital outlay in respect to these improvements, without deducting recoupment to be obtained by disposal of surplus lands, is estimated at £10,964,150.—See also article on "Street Improvements," page 130.

The *Industrial and Reformatory Schools Committee*.—This Committee is charged with the management and control of the Industrial and Reformatory Schools belonging to the Council, at Mayford and Feltham.

Inebriates'
homes.

The *Inebriates' Acts Committee* deals with all matters in connection with the Inebriates Act, 1898. It maintains, manages and controls institutions under that Act; has power to enter into contracts for the current expenditure of such institutions; and supervises contracts entered into by the Council with the authorities of certified reformatories and retreats for the reception of inebriates. It also licenses retreats within the County of London.

The *Local Government and Taxation Committee*.—This Committee deals with the following matters:—London local taxation and local government; county boundaries; division of parishes into wards; questions arising between the Council and other local bodies not specifically referred to any other Committee; the assessment of property for rates; the division of Parliamentary boroughs and electoral divisions into polling districts, for the purposes of Parliamentary and County Council elections.—See under “Taxation,” page 184.

By-laws.

The Committee also suggests by-laws to the Council, under section 23 of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which provides that “the Council may, from time to time, make such by-laws as to them seem meet for the good rule and government of the county.” Some important by-laws have been passed relating to street noises, betting and other nuisances.

Main
drainage.

The *Main Drainage Committee* deals with the great system of main drainage laid down by the Metropolitan Board of

Works. The total amount of sewage treated during the year ended March 31st, 1903, was over 89,556 millions of gallons, and the weight of sludge sent to sea was 2,620,000 millions of tons.—See also article on “Main Drainage—Floodings,” page 76.

The *Parks and Open Spaces Committee* controls and maintains the parks, gardens and open spaces belonging to or under the jurisdiction of the Council. The Council is only one of several authorities for the management of the lungs of London. The authorities maintaining open spaces are:—

His Majesty's Government	..	..	1,875 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres.
London County Council	..	..	4,879 „
City Corporation	..	..	6,559 „
Borough Councils	..	..	220 „
Conservators of Commons	..	..	1,200 „
Metropolitan Public Gardens Association	..	..	6 „
Private Persons and Companies	..	..	41 $\frac{1}{4}$ „

Parliamentary Committee.—The Parliamentary Committee consists of twelve to fifteen members, with the addition of not more than fifteen members of the Legislature who are members of the Council. It undertakes the duty of preparing and promoting all Bills sanctioned by the Council, and of considering all Provisional Orders and Bills in Parliament affecting the county. Legislative work.

The *Public Control Committee* deals with the following subjects: contagious diseases of animals, coroners, explosives, gas meters, gas supply, petroleum, cruelty to children, protection of infant life, shop hours, water, weights and measures, sale of coal, market inquiries, smoke consumption, and other matters.

Weights
and
measures.

Weights and Measures Acts.—A staff of eighty-seven inspectors, &c., is employed in carrying out these Acts. During the year ending March 31st, 1903, the number of weighing appliances and machines dealt with was 2,169,764, of which 449,534 were rejected as unfit for stamping. The fees received for verification and stamping of weights, &c., was over £7,600. The total number of offences discovered was 1,052. Legal proceedings were taken in 373 cases, and 360 convictions were obtained.

Sale of
coal.

Sale of Coal.—In connection with the sale of coal, 718 offences were discovered. In 41 cases legal proceedings were taken, in all of which convictions were obtained.

Sale of
bread.

Bread Act.—The Act relating to the sale of bread requires that all bread shall be sold by weight; 239 offences have been reported by the inspectors during the year ending March 31st, 1903; 49 persons were cautioned in writing by the Council and 190 prosecuted. Convictions were obtained in each case and penalties imposed amounting to £176.

Protection
of infants.

Infant Life Protection Act, 1897.—The number of houses notified under this Act for inspection during the year ending March 31st, 1903, was 333.

Shop
Hours
Act.

The *Shop Hours Act*, of which Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) is the author.—The number of premises visited by the inspectors up to March 31st, 1903, was 125,573. Infringements of the Act were discovered in 9,324 cases. In the majority the occupiers were cautioned by the inspectors, and in 1,060 cases cautions in writing were sent by the Council. In 57 cases legal proceedings were instituted, and 52 convictions obtained.

Seats for Shop Assistants Act, 1899.—During the year ending March 31st, 1903, there were 13,649 shop, which were affected by this Act; 36,389 females were found to be employed in these shops. At 13,074 premises, sufficient seating accommodation had been provided, but at the remaining 575 this was found not to be the case. Cautions were sent in 173 cases. It was necessary to take legal proceedings in seven cases.

Smoke Consumption.—A number of infringements of the Public Health Act, 1891, have been reported by the police and also by the Council's officers. The sanitary authorities in the district concerned were notified with a view to their taking steps for the suppression of the nuisance. In a large number of cases summonses were issued and penalties inflicted by the magistrates.

Petroleum Acts.—Last year 1,185 licenses to keep petroleum were issued; 7,948 inspections were made; 348 oil wharves visited, and test samples taken; 93 infringements of the Acts were reported; in 23 cases legal proceedings were taken, in 22 of which convictions were obtained.

Markets.—Although not the market authority for London, the Council is authorised to prosecute and to conduct inquiries and negotiations relative to such existing markets and market rights as are not the property of or under the control of the City Corporation, the expediency of establishing new markets in or near to the administrative County of London and the matters relative or incidental thereto. In addition to the principal markets, the unauthorised street markets have been inquired into by the Committee. The existence of these street markets, although sometimes a nuisance to their neighbourhood, supply a great want in the shape of cheap food to the

Costermongers. poorer classes, and “Progressive” schemes for their abolition have been sturdily resisted by the costermongers.

Public health. The *Public Health Committee* deals with all matters arising under the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, and the Common Lodging House Acts, 1851 and 1853, and other questions affecting the public health. It licenses and regulates offensive trades, slaughter houses, cow houses and knackers’ yards; administers Local Government Board orders dealing with dairies, cow sheds and market shops. The general sanitary condition of various districts comes under its consideration, where it is alleged that the local sanitary authority has failed to carry out its statutory duties.

Rivers Thames and Lea. *Rivers Committee.*—This Committee consists of six representatives of the Council on the Thames Conservancy Board, and two representatives on the Lea Conservancy Board, and twelve other members added to the two Boards by the Council. It reports to the Council as to the work in connection with the Rivers Thames and Lea, carried out by the two Conservancies. There is no direct jurisdiction of the Council, but, through its representatives, it exercises considerable power of suggestion and supervision. Inquiries have been made in connection with the rivers and the docks, as well as the sanitary condition of the Thames, and the powers and duties of the Port Authority. The most important proposal of recent years has been to institute a Municipal Steamboat Service.—*See* article on “Locomotion,” page 104.

Docks.

Thames steamboat service.

Contracts for stores. *Stores Committee.*—The Stores Committee prepares the schedules and considers tenders for all goods (except coal) supplied to the Council. The various departments estimate annually the quantities and descriptions of stores needed. These are then classified, and tenders invited. The Committee carefully considers the tenders received, and recommends the most favourable to the Council for acceptance.

Theatres and Music Halls Committee.—The duties of this Committee, which also sits from time to time as the Licensing Committee, are (a) to hear all applications for the licensing of places for music or music and dancing within the County of London and also for the licensing for stage plays of places within the County but outside the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain, and report thereon to the Council; (b) To consider and report to the Council upon all questions arising out of or connected with the Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Act, 1878, relating to theatres, music halls, and other places of public entertainment; and the Section of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Various Powers) Act, 1882, relating to the improvement of the means of exit from such buildings.

Water Committee.—Although the duties which formed part of this Committee's reference from the Council, relating to the acquisition of the undertakings of the companies supplying water to London, have been transferred to the Metropolitan Water Board by the Metropolis Water Act, 1902, the Council still retains powers conferred upon it by the Metropolis Water Act, 1897, under which the Council, as a "local authority," may complain, or aid any water consumer in a complaint, to the Railway and Canal Commission with reference to any Metropolitan water company having failed to perform a statutory duty. The Council may also aid any water consumer in obtaining the determination of any question which appears to it to be of interest to water consumers with respect to the rights, duties and liabilities of any of the Metropolitan water companies in reference to the quantity or quality of water supplied or charges made by them.

There are a few special Committees, dealing with small holdings, coroners' courts, &c., which do not call for notice.

INDEX.

A

	PAGE
Abbey Mills Section	153
Acts.— <i>See</i> Legislation. Also separate headings	
„ Housing.— <i>See</i> Housing of the Working Classes, and separate headings.	
„ Agricultural Rates Act, relief under	195
Akers-Douglas, Right Hon. A., M.P., on alien immigration	244
Alien immigration	239
Allen, Rev. Dr. Thomas, on Education Bill	48
Allotments Act, 1887	226
Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1900	235
Appendix of notes on Education question	37
Arnold, Sir Arthur, and ground values	186
Assessments, growth of	167
Asylums Committee (L.C.C.)	153, 256

B

Baker, Sir Benjamin, instructions to	76
„ „ at Sanitary Institute	84
Baker, Mr., motion <i>re</i> education	26
Balfour, Mr. Gerald, M.P., introduces Port of London Bill	219
Baths and Washhouses Act, 1896	231
Belgian contracts	59
“Belgian Rails Bogey,” Mr. Benn’s leaflet	71
Benn, Mr., on foreign contracts	68, 71, 72
„ <i>See</i> Locomotion and Street Improvements.	
Betterment, creed of Radical Left	133
„ <i>See</i> Recoupment.	
Bible, The.— <i>See</i> Religious Instruction.	
Bills in Parliament, promotion and opposition, cost	171
Binnie, Sir Alexander, and Works Department	144, 145, 150
„ „ report on drainage.— <i>See</i> also Sir B. Baker	80
Blashill, Mr., and Works Department	144
Board of Trade Statistics, English and Belgian labour	70
Bodies Corporate (Joint Tenancy) Act, 1899	233
“Bolstering-up” Works Department	151
Booth, Mr. Charles, F.R.S., on London population and starvation.. .. .	170
Borough Councils.— <i>See</i> Education.	
„ „ Elections	31
„ „ and housing	102
„ „ and locomotion	121
„ „ powers of	210
„ „ condemn L.C.C. drainage schemes	86

	PAGE
Borough Funds Act, 1903	236
„ Surveyors, powers of	211
Boundary Street scheme	100
Bread Act, offences	262
Bridges Committee (L.C.C.)	256
„ „ report on Vauxhall Bridge .. 75, 248, 249.	250
Brockwell Park, cost of acquisition	254
Bruce, Mr., on raising capital	181
Building Act Committee (L.C.C.)	257
Burne-Jones, Sir Philip, Bart., on drainage	82
Burns, Mr. John, M.P., on economy, housing, &c.— <i>See</i> Finance.	
„ „ motion <i>re</i> trade unions	140
„ „ on Works Department	141
„ „ and ground values	186
By-laws of L.C.C.	260

C

“Ca’ Canny” System	147
Campbell, Mr., on capital expenditure	158
Canals Protection Act, 1898	224
„ „ (London) Act, 1898	232
Canterbury, Archbishop of, letter on education, Appendix	50
Capital commitments of L.C.C.	160
Carmarthenshire County Council, action <i>re</i> Education Act	33
Chamberlain, Mr.— <i>See</i> Political Tirade.	
Charities, and Corporate Property Committee (L.C.C.)	257
Child Population and School Accommodation Statistics	8
Church Schools.— <i>See</i> Education. Statistics, Appendix	50
City, Mr. John Burns, M.P., attacks the	181
Cleansing of Persons Act, 1897	232
Clifford, Dr., and Education Act	31
Cockerton Case	19
Colney Hatch, temporary buildings, report by Mr. Grunning	144
Committees of L.C.C.—Also under separate headings	256
Committee of Inquiry on Works Department	142
Conduit and Trolley Systems.— <i>See</i> Locomotion.	
Conscience Clause, Appendix	47
Conservatives and Education Act, 1870; thanked by Mr. Forster	42
Conservative financial policy	156, 164
„ housing policy	87, 96, 99
„ labour policy	71
„ locomotion policy	105
„ municipal policy	215
„ recoupment policy justified	201

Conservative street improvement policy	135, 136
„ and Unionist Legislation affecting London	222
Conservatives and non-contentious work of L.C.C.	253
Constitution of proposed Port of London Authority	215
Cookham Buildings	154
“Cooking the Accounts.”— <i>See</i> Works Department.	
Cooper, Dr., motion <i>re</i> Education	26
Corporate Property Committee (L.C.C.)	257
Costelloe, late Mr., Municipal Death Duty evidence	193
Costermongers and Progressive market schemes	264
County Councils.— <i>See</i> Education, and letters in Appendix.	
„ „ Association and Education Bill	39
County Council, powers of	210
„ Improvements, net cost	138
Courtney, ex-M.P., Right Hon. Leonard H., on rates	169
Cousins, Mr. J. Ratcliffe, L.C.C., on royalties	73
Coward, Mr. H., and Education Act	40
Cowper-Temple clause 14, also Appendix	47
Crossness Works	152

D

“Daily Express,” on failure of L.C.C. housing policy	98
“Daily News” commends Conservative housing measures	88
„ „ criticises L.C.C. housing policy	92
“Daily Telegraph,” article on Belgian Labour	70
Darwin, Major L., work on “Municipal Trade.”	247
Defective Children, Schools for.— <i>See</i> Education.	
Delaying Improvements, result of	137
Depreciation of L.C.C. credit	162
Dickinson, Mr. W. H., on Works Department	142
Dimsdale, Sir J., M.P., on Port of London Bill	221
Disadvantages of Municipal Labour	146
District Surveyors, powers of	210
Dixon, late Mr. George, M.P., and Education Act, 1870	42
Dod, F. A., Councillor, motion <i>re</i> flooding	85
Duty of Londoners with regard to Education	35

E

Education, also Education Act, 1903	1
„ perils of London's.— <i>See</i> Perils.	
„ total expenditure on	6
„ Acts	223, 235, 237
„ Code Act, 1890	228
Educational policy of the Government	3
Effect of high rates	169

	PAGE
"Election Cry," rating	191
Electric trams	112
Elementary Education Act, 1891.— <i>See also</i> Education	229
Eltham Park, cost of acquisition	254
Employment of Children Act, 1903	238
Engineers' report on floodings	76
Establishment Committee (L.C.C.)	258
Estimates and costs, Works Department	148, 149
"Evening News," on South London electric trams	119
Evening schools	19
Evils of Progressive centralization in education	10
Excessive issues of L.C.C. stock	160

F

Factory and Workshop Acts	224, 229, 235
Farrer, late Lord, memorandum on contractors' wages	140
" " on rating of sites and buildings	187
Finance	156
" Committee (L.C.C.).— <i>See also</i> Finance	258
" " " remarks on housing schemes	95
" " " report on Vauxhall Bridge	251
" " " education	17
Fire Brigade Committee (L.C.C.)	258
Fleet Street, No. 17	146, 259
Floodings.— <i>See</i> Main Drainage.	
Foreign contracts	58
Forster, late Mr. W. E., M.P., and Education Act, 1870; thanks to Conservatives	42
"Fortnightly Review," article on housing	93
Fowler, Right Hon. Sir H. H., M.P., on Education	37, 48
Free Churches.— <i>See</i> Perils of London's Education.	
" " test questions	32
Fulham Park, cost of acquisition	254

G

"G. J. D.," letter to "Standard" on Education	49
General Purposes Committee (L.C.C.)	258
" " " " report <i>re</i> floodings	84
Gladstone, late Right Hon. W. E., M.P., and voluntary schools	43
Golder's Hill, cost of acquisition	254
Goodrich, Mr., motion <i>re</i> New Cross sheds	151
Goschen, Viscount, taxation policy	196
Government educational policy	3
Grant, Mr. Corrie, M.P., and Education Act	31
Greenwich tunnel, speed of work	145

Ground values, taxation of—Creed of Radical Left.— <i>See also Taxation</i> ..	133
Gunning, Mr., expert, on Works Department management	144

H

Hackney Wick sewer, slow work	145, 153
Haldane, the Right Hon. R. B., K.G., M.P., on Education	37, 38
Hampstead Road widening	158
Hardie, Mr. Keir, M.P., on Education Act	42
Harris, Mr. H. P., recommends periodical statement of accounts	158
Harrison, Mr. Frederic, on Holborn to Strand improvement	136
Hartland, Sir F. D. Dixon, Bart., M.P., moves rejection of Port of London Bill	220
Hibbert, Right Hon. Sir J. T., ex-M.P., on Education	39
Hicks-Beach, Right Hon. Sir M., Bart., M.P., on municipal trading	247
High rents charged by L.C.C.	98
Highways Committee (L.C.C.)	259
" " " report on New Cross sheds	151
" " " and omnibuses	128
" " " reports on tramways	60, 61, 66, 109
"History of London Street Improvements," quoted	133
Hobhouse, Lord, presents report on site values	188
Hogarth Buildings	154
Holborn to Strand, new street	136
Holloway, Mr., address to Works Department employees	147
Horton Asylum	153
Housing Committee (L.C.C.)— <i>See special chapter</i>	87
" &c., Committee, policy of Council	92
" of the Working Classes	87
" " " " Acts	88, 90, 223, 227, 235, 237
" schemes, Mr. John Burns, M.P., on	179
Hutton, late Sir John, on condition of Vauxhall Bridge	248

I

Idris, Mr., on drainage	80
Immigration.— <i>See Alien.</i>	
Improvement Rate Bill, 1893	185
Improvements Committee (L.C.C.)	132, 259
" " " Holborn to Strand improvement	136
Income of Voluntary Schools for maintenance, 1894-1902	45
Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters and Education Bill	40
Industrial Dwellings Companies and housing	103
" Freedom League.— <i>See Socialistic Protest.</i>	
" and Reformatory Schools Committee (L.C.C.)	260
" Schools Act, working	11
Inebriates' Acts Committee (L.C.C.)	260

	PAGE
Infant Life Protection Act, 1897—232; number of houses notified ..	262
Infectious Diseases Notification Acts	223, 226
„ „ (Prevention) Act, 1890	228
Inhabited House Duty, transfer recommended	197

J

Jephson, Mr., defends Finance Committee	158
---	-----

K

Kenwood, Dr. H. R., criticises L.C.C. and drainage	84
--	----

L

Labour Bureaux (London) Act, 1902	236
„ Conditions: British v. Belgian	70
„ Regulations of L.C.C.	58
Lambeth Bridge, condition	252
Landowners, co-operation in housing	103
Land Registry (New Buildings) Act, 1900	234
„ Values Assessment and Rating Bill, 1903	205
Leaflets by Mr. Benn.— <i>See</i> Foreign Contracts.	
Legislation, Conservative and Unionist	222
Lewisham Sewer	152
Licensing Act, 1902	224, 236
Littler, Sir Ralph, letter to “The Times” <i>re</i> rails	68
Llandovery National School, letter of manager	33
Local Authorities condemn L.C.C. drainage schemes	81
„ Government Act, 1888	223, 226
„ „ (Transfer of Powers) Act, 1903	237
„ „ Board, report on rates per head	169
„ „ „ Secretary and taxation	205
„ „ „ and Taxation Committee (L.C.C.) 260.— <i>See</i> also Taxation.	
„ „ „ „ „ „ report on site values 185, 189	
„ Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890	223, 227
„ „ Royal Commission	194
„ Veto, Locomotion	120
Locomotion	104
„ Increased, and Housing	103
Locomotives Act, 1898	224, 233
London Cab Act, 1896	230
„ Coal Duties Abolition Act, 1889	226
L.C.C. Electors Qualification Act, 1900	234
„ Elections and Education Act, letters from Bishops	53, 55
„ (Tramways and Improvements) Act, 1902	139, 158
Londoners' duty with regard to Education	35

	PAGE
London Government Act, 1899	89, 208, 223, 233
.. .. . Royal Commission	207
.. .. . Legislation.— <i>See</i> Legislation.	
.. .. . Locomotion, Royal Commission on	121, 125
.. .. . Municipal Society.— <i>See</i> Socialistic Protest.	
.. .. . Parks and Works Act, 1887	225
.. .. . Progressive Education Council	31
.. .. . and Rochester. Bishops of, letter on elections and Education Act	53
.. .. . School Board and Education Bill	39
Long, Mr. Walter, M.P., on administration of Housing Acts	98
Longstaff, Dr., motion <i>re</i> drainage	79
Loveday, Mr., condemns L.C.C. drainage work	85
Lyon, Mr., on workers and wages	147

M

McDongall, Mr., motions <i>re</i> floodings	79, 81
Macnamara, Dr., M.P., on Education	37, 47, 50
Main Drainage Committee (L.C.C.).— <i>See</i> also Main Drainage	152, 260
.. .. . floodings	76
Margarine Act, 1887	225
Markets and L.C.C.	263
Members of Local Authorities Relief Act, 1900	235
Merionethshire County Council, action on Education Act	34
Metropolis Management Act Amendment Act, 1890	228
.. .. . " " " " " (By-laws) Act, 1899	233
Metropolitan Board of Works and housing, returns	91
.. .. . street improvements	131
.. .. . Free Church Federation, test questions	32
.. .. . Police Act, 1887	225
.. .. . Court Act, 1897	231
.. .. . (Borrowing Powers) Act, 1897	232
.. .. . Courts (Holidays) Act, 1897	231
.. .. . Streets Act, 1903	237
Middlesex County Council, tenders for rails	69
Midwives Act, 1902	236
Military Lands Act, 1892	230
.. .. . " " " 1900	235
.. .. . " " " 1903	238
Millbank site	93, 154
Minority Reports, Local Taxation Commission	203
Money market.— <i>See</i> Finance.	
Motor Car Act, 1903	224, 238
Moulton, Mr. Fletcher, K.C., taxation scheme condemned	203
Municipal Death Duty, condemned by L.C.C.	185

	PAGE
Municipal labour, disadvantages	146
„ trading	245
„ „ Mr. John Burns, M.P., on	181

N

National Gallery (Purchase of Adjacent Land) Act, 1901	235
„ Portrait Gallery Act, 1889	226
„ Union of Teachers and Education Bill	40
New Cross sheds, cost	151
Nightingale Street scheme	103
“No tramways, no improvements,” Progressive dictum	134
Non-contentious work of L.C.C.	253
Nonconformists and Progressives	31
Norbury housing scheme	95
North Woolwich, cost of drainage	145, 148, 152

O

Omnibuses	127
Open Spaces Act, 1890	228
Opposition to Belgian contracts, Conservative and Labour	62

P

Parker Street lodging house	93
Parks and Open Spaces	253
„ „ „ list of authorities	261
„ „ „ Committee (L.C.C.)	261
Parliamentary Committee (L.C.C.)	261
„ „ „ and Education Bill	23
„ „ „ and Site Values Bill	191
Patent Office Extension Act, 1897	231
Perils of London's Education (chapter)	30
Petroleum Acts, statistics	263
Police Disabilities Removal Act, 1887	225
„ Reservists Act, 1902	236
„ „ (Allowances) Act, 1900	234
Political tirade by Mr. John Burns, M.P.	182
Poor Removal Act, 1900	234
Port of London	213
„ „ Bill	219
Postmen's Park, cost of acquisition	254
Powers and duties of central and local authorities	207
Prevention of Cruelty to and Protection of Children Act, 1889	226
Progressive.—See also Radical and Socialist.	
„ centralisation in education, evils	10

	PAGE
Progressive Education Council, London	31
„ housing policy	95
„ hostility to the Education Bill (Education, Part II.)..	23, 29
„ majority (L.C.C.), disregard of financial prudence ..	174
„ and non-contentious work of L.C.C.	253
„ “no control” finance policy condemned	157
„ obstruction to sanitary improvements.— <i>See</i> Main Drainage.	
„ opposition to sanitary reform	79, <i>et seq.</i>
„ policy of cheap labour	72
„ street improvement policy	132
„ tramway failure	120, 134
Protection of Children Acts	224
Public Buildings Acts	224, 232, 238
„ Control Committee (L.C.C.)	261
„ Health Acts	88, 223, 229, 230, 263
„ „ Committee (L.C.C.)	264
„ Libraries Act, 1901	235
„ Offices (Acquisition of Site) Act, 1895	230
„ „ (Whitehall) Site Act, 1897	231

Q

Quarter Sessions (London) Act, 1896	230
---	-----

R

Radford, Mr., motion <i>re</i> Education	28
Radical.— <i>See</i> also Progressive and Socialist.	
„ criticism and excuses.— <i>See</i> Housing.	
„ municipal policy	212
„ opinions on Education, Appendix	37
Railways (Electrical Power) Act, 1903	238
Rates, L.C.C. raising	165
Ratepayers, grievances of.— <i>See</i> Taxation.	
Rating of Land Values, Findings of Royal Commission ..	199
Recoupment <i>v.</i> Betterment	205
Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act, 1891	228
Reid, Sir R. T., K.C., M.P., criticises L.C.C. housing policy	92
Religious Instruction, 12. Also Appendix	41
Results of L.C.C. Finance—debt, &c.	159
„ working tramway systems	111
Return of child population in Metropolitan boroughs, school accommodation, &c.	8
„ cost of promotion and opposition of Bills in Parliament	171
Rhodes, late Mr. Cecil.— <i>See</i> Political Tirade.	
Richard, Mr. Henry, M.P., motion <i>re</i> religious education ..	43
Ritchie, Mr., on the Port of London	213

	PAGE
Rivers Committee (L.C.C.)	264
„ „ „ Steamboats Bill	124
Robinson, Mr. R. A., motion <i>re</i> Education	25
Rosebery, Avenue	132
„ the Right Hon. Earl of, on Education	37
„ „ „ „ „ Housing	237
„ „ „ „ „ Municipal extravagance	172
„ „ „ „ „ taxation of ground rents	184
Rothschild, Lord.— <i>See</i> Socialistic Protest.	
Rotton, Lieut.-Col., motion <i>re</i> Belgian contracts	65
Royal Commission on Alien Immigration	239
„ „ „ Housing of the Working Classes	87
„ „ „ Local Taxation	194
„ „ „ London Government	207
„ „ „ „ Locomotion	121, 125
„ „ „ „ the Port of London	214
Royalties, question of	72
Rutty's house, Bromley	259

S

Sales of Coal, offences	262
„ Food and Drugs Act, 1899	223, 234
Salisbury, late Marquess of, on Housing Act, Part III.	99
„ „ „ „ incidence of rates	193, 194
Sanitary Improvement.— <i>See</i> Main Drainage.	
„ Institute, discussion on flooding, condemn L.C.C.	84
Schools.— <i>See</i> Education.	
School Board for London.— <i>See</i> Education.	
Seats for Shop Assistants Act, 1899, statistics	263
Secondary Education	21
Select Committee on Municipal Trading	245
Separate valuation of rating and land and buildings.— <i>See</i> Royal Commission on Local Taxation.	
Sewers.— <i>See</i> Main Drainage Committee.	
Shaw-Lefevre, Mr., on Recoupment and Betterment	205
Shop Hours Act, 1892—224, 230. Offences	262
Sites, statement in L.C.C. annual report	96, 97
Site Values (London) Rating Bill, 1900	186
„ „ „ „ „ „ 1901	191
Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899	234
„ Holdings Act, 1892	230
Smoke Consumption, infringements	263
Socialist.— <i>See</i> Progressive and Radical.	
„ protest against economy	180

South African War.— <i>See</i> Lord Welby and Socialist protest.	
„ London Electric Trams. failure	119
„ „ floods, “The Times” article	83
Statistical Officer (L.C.C.), memorandum on assessments	167
Steamboat service	122
Stepney, Bishop of, letter on elections and Education Act	55
Steadman, Mr., motions <i>re</i> Belgian rails	62, 64
Stores Committee (L.C.C.)	264
Strand Improvement Scheme	206
„ widening, cost	137
Street Improvements—130. Expenditure	163
Subways	126
Supreme Court of Judicature (London Causes) Act, 1891	229

T

Taxation	184
Taylor, Alderman, on L.C.C. workmen	147
Technical Education	20
„ Instruction Acts	223, 226, 228
Test for Teachers	16
„ questions—Education	32, 57
Thames Conservancy.— <i>See</i> Port of London.	
Theatres and Music Halls Committee (L.C.C.)	265
Tichborne Street, No. 6, site and house	189
Times, The, on South London floods	83
Torrance, Mr., and Works Department	151
Total Expenditure on Education	6
Tottenham Court Road improvement, cost	137
Totterdown Fields, cottage scheme	94
Tower Bridge, Southern Approach	206
Town Holdings Committee.— <i>See</i> Taxation.	
Trade Unions.— <i>See</i> Labour Conditions, Works Department.	
Tramway Companies.— <i>See</i> Locomotion.	
„ Policy	104, 134
Tramways, Reports of Highways Committee	60, 61, 66
Tube Railways	124

U

Unionist Governments, action with regard to local taxation	192
University of London Act, 1898	233
Urban Site Value Rating Bill, 1902	204

V

Valuer, L.C.C., on incidence of rates	189
Vauxhall Bridge	73, 248

	PAGE
Voluntary Schools Act, 1897	231
„ „ income for maintenance, 1894-1902	45
„ „ and religious question, Appendix	41
„ system.— <i>See</i> Education.	

W

Warner, Mr. Courtenay, M.P., on education	39
Water Acts	224, 232, 233, 236
„ Companies Act, 1887	225
„ Committee (L.C.C.)	265
Waterlow, Mr., defends L.C.C. housing policy.. .. .	93
Webb, Mr. Sidney, on education	38, 46
Weights and Measures Acts	223, 227, 255
„ „ „ statistics	262
„ „ (Purchase) Act, 1892	229
Welby, Lord, on financial position	159, 161, 162, 173, 183
Wellington Street widening, cost.. .. .	137
Welsh County Councils and Voluntary schools	33
West, Sir Algernon.— <i>See</i> Socialistic protest.	
„ View Cottages, report by Mr. Grunning	144
Westminster improvement scheme	137
Westerdale, Rev. T. E., on Education Bill	48
“Whiskey” money	21
White, Mr. E., motion <i>re</i> contract	75
Women's work in education	2
Wood Green housing scheme	96
„ Mr. McKinnon and education	35
„ „ motion <i>re</i> foreign contracts	65
Working Classes Dwellings Act, 1890	227
Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897	224, 231
Works Department	140
„ „ housing	101

Y

Yoxall, Mr. J. H., M.P., on education	39
---	----



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